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Winchester

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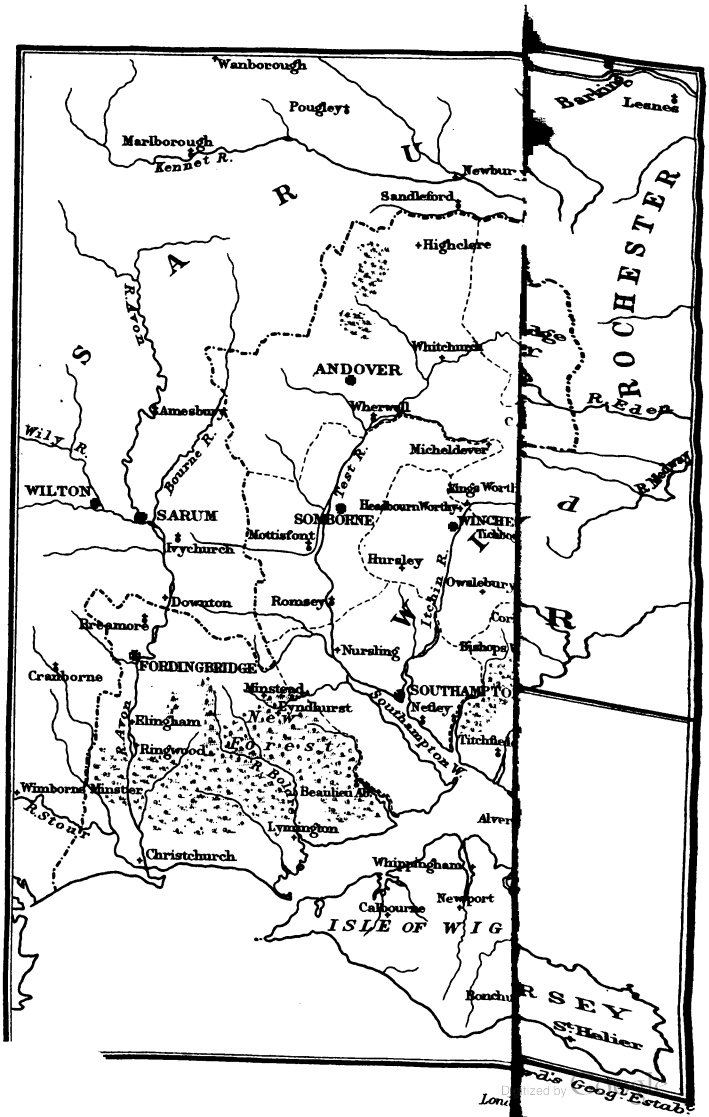
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DIOCESAN HISTORIES.

WINCHESTER.

BY

WILLIAM BENHAM, B.D. F.S.A.

RECTOR OF ST. EDMUND THE KING, LOMBARD STREET.

WITH MAP.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE TRACT COMMITTEE.

LONDON:
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE,
NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE, CHARING CROSS, W.C.;
43, QUEEN VICTORIA STREET, E.C.
26, ST. GEORGE'S PLACE, HYDE PARK CORNER, S.W.
BRIGHTON: 135, NORTH STREET.
NEW YORK: E. & J. B. YOUNG & CO.
1884.

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WINCHESTER.

CHAPTER I.

THE KINGDOM AND CHURCH OF WESSEX.

THE south coast of our native island was first peopled from the opposite coast of Gaul. Settlers from Armorica established themselves on the coast; thence proceeding inland they found a well-watered valley with extensive downs and shady forests round it, suitable not only for their flocks but for the chase and defence. Here they made their chief settlement, and called it Caer Gwent. And from this city, in course of time, proceeded other colonies to the west and north.

In the first century of Christianity this tribe, as well as the other tribes on the coast of Britain, were conquered by the Romans, and Roman Britain without doubt became Christian. But as there are no contemporary written records, we have only traditions concerning the details of the conversion, and one of these traditions finds its place in the present history. Bede relates that during the reign of M. Aurelius, a British king, named Lucius, sent ambassadors to Rome begging for Christian teachers,

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that they were sent, and that he was baptised.[1] But this account, short as it is, can be shown to be untrustworthy. He gives dates and names which are certainly mistaken. Bede was a northern writer, and his information, except such as came from his own observation, was very confused. The Bishop of Chester, Dean Milman, Drs. Burton and Green, all regard the story as pure legend, though some writers hold it possible that there is a slight foundation for it.[2] But if Lucius ever existed at all, he probably lived at Llandaff. As for the mythical additions that he "founded churches in each of the twenty-eight cities of Britain, settling upon them the incomes of the Druidical priests"; that he made London, York, and Caerleon metropolitical sees, and "built the cathedral of Caer Gwent on a scale of grandeur and magnificence which has never since been equalled, annexing a monastery to it,"[3] we may dismiss all these statements at once.

Whether the English conquest of Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries was a virtual extermination of the conquered race, or whether a great amalgamation of Teutons and Celts followed is a question which historians may settle. But it is certain that the south-east of England became altogether Teutonic, and that British Christianity there disappeared before the heathenism of the conquerors.

The conquest began with the landing of the Jutes

[1] Bede, "Hist. Ecc.," i. 4.

[2] See the *Church Quarterly Review*, for 1880.

[3] All this, and much more, in Milner's "History of Winchester."

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in Kent in 449. Thirty years later the South Saxons landed on the coast near Chichester, and by the beginning of the sixth century Saxons had established themselves in Essex, and Angles along the northern coast. But the foundations of a greater kingdom than any of them was being laid on the shores of Southampton Water. The great forest known as the Andredsweald, which stretched along the south coast from Beachy Head, had been an almost impregnable safeguard for the heart of the country against invaders from the south. But the Southampton estuary, along with the streams which flowed into it, made an opening through this forest, of which the West Saxons had to make more than one attempt to avail themselves before they were successful. For twenty years the native people bravely held this estuary against the invaders, but at length, about A.D. 519, the kingdom of Wessex was established by Cerdic, "and from that time his royal offspring reigned," says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Besides the West Saxons came a tribe of Jutes, who made their way up the Meon river, a small tributary of the Southampton estuary, and settled themselves along the little stream, and were known as the Meonwaras (*i.e.*, "men of Meon"). We chronicle the fact because an interesting chapter of Church history subsequently arises out of it. Another party of the same Jutes, assisted by the West Saxons, conquered the Isle of Wight.

Having once settled themselves, the West Saxons rested awhile. After some years of inaction they gradually extended their conquest westwards until the dense forests of the Frome valley enabled the

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Britons to keep them at bay. They went northward, too, as far as the Thames Valley, and before the end of the sixth century their dominion comprised the districts known to us as Oxfordshire, Bedfordshire, and Bucks.[1] By a victory at Wimbledon, over the King of Kent, Surrey was added to the West Saxon dominion. But the career of conquest was checked by a calamity which more than once proved a curse to the West Saxon kingdom—namely, family quarrels. One branch of the Cerdic line was set up against another. Thus it came to pass that, in 593, King Ceawlin was slain at Wodnesburh (Wanborough in Wilts), and the supremacy passed for the time into the hands of Ethelbert, King of Kent, who was converted to Christianity three years afterwards by St. Augustine, but who did not use his supremacy for their conversion to the faith, as Pope Gregory urged him to do. He was more desirous of subduing to his own authority the Christianity which he found existing among the Welsh, than of breaking the new ground of heathendom, and the king apparently would not run the risk of strife with his neighbours. Slowly, indeed, Christianity extended to London, but Wessex was still in heathendom when Ethelbert died. Ceolwulf was King of Wessex at that time, and added Sussex to his dominions, taking it from Kent.

In 611, Kynegils, nephew of Ceolwulf, and great-

[1] It would seem probable that in the great belt of forest which occupied the northern part of Hants the Celts held their own for a long time. Witness the number of French saints to whom churches in this district are dedicated.

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great-grandson of Cerdic, became king of the West Saxons, and reigned thirty-one years. The first record of his reign in the Chronicle is significant of the state of the land. He had to fight the Welsh in the very heart of his kingdom, and at Beandune (Bampton, Oxon) "he slew 2,065." A few years later Edwin became King of Northumbria, and was acknowledged as supreme over the other kings of England. His baptism by Paulinus in 627 was the cause of a fierce rising against him, headed by Penda, King of Mercia; and six years later Edwin was slain in battle, and was succeeded by his cousin Oswald. His death did not check the progress of the Gospel, for here comes in the beautiful chapter of missionary enterprise which is recorded at length in the "History of the Diocese of Durham" (pp. 7–31). What the Roman missionaries had failed to do was accomplished by Aidan and his companion missionaries from Iona.

But the southern English still remained heathen. In the year 633, Birinus, a friar in the monastery of St. Gregory at Rome, offered himself to Pope Honorius to penetrate into the innermost parts of Pagan Britain, "to sow the seeds of the holy faith."[1] It looks like a tacit rebuke to the supineness of the first missionaries that the pope requested Asterius, Bishop of Genoa, and not the Archbishop of Canterbury, to consecrate him bishop.[2] Landing on the West Saxon coast, and finding himself surrounded on

[1] Bede, iii. 7.

[2] The Franks, being Teutons, like the English, spoke a somewhat similar tongue. And Genoa was a great resort of

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all sides by paganism, he took up his abode there and preached diligently before King Kynegils and his people. His efforts were aided by King Oswald, who had opportunely come to ask for the hand of the daughter of Kynegils, and the latter was baptised in 635, his son-in-law Oswald being his godfather. The place of the baptism is not stated, but we may assume it to have been Winchester. The ancient city of Caer Gwent had been laid in ruins by Cerdic, but had risen from its ruins, and had now become the chief residence of the court, its name passing into the later form of Went-Ceaster. On the occasion of his baptism, Kynegils is said to have given land to the clergy for seven miles round Winchester.

Yet Winchester was not made the first seat of the Bishop of the West Saxons. That honour was conferred on Dorchester, now a pretty village six miles below Abingdon, near the junction of the Thames and the Isis, then a fortified town, the residence of the king's brother Cuichelm. The reason for this choice was that Birinus was eager to carry the gospel

Frankish traders. Birinus may have gone thither, therefore, to learn the English tongue. How like it was to our own may be seen from an extract of Otfrid's metrical translation of the Gospel into French, A.D. 850.

Nu wil Ih scriben unser heill
Now will I write our health
Evangelions deil
Of the Gospel the deal (part).
So is nu hiar begunnen
So is now here begun
In Frankisga tungun.
In Frankish tongue.

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into the inland parts, and Dorchester was close to the borders of heathen Mercia. Here, next year, Cuichelm, finding himself sick unto death, was baptised by the bishop. According to Milner his burial-place, on the downs near Wanating (Wantage), retains the name of Cuckamsley Hill.

With a view to make Winchester the seat of the bishopric, as of the Court, Kynegils, who from this time reigned in peace, began to build a grand cathedral there, and had gathered great material as well as laid the foundations; but, finding himself seized with mortal sickness, he solemnly charged his son Kenwalk, in the presence of Birinus, to carry out his design, and so died in 643.

Kenwalk, however, showed scant desire to fulfil his father's behest. After a little hesitation he relapsed into paganism, and, carried away by headstrong passion, repudiated his wife Sexburh, Penda's daughter. The aged heathen king went against him in anger, and drove him from his throne. He fled to the Court of Anna, king of the East Angles, and there, influenced by the high character of his protector, and reflecting on his own wilfulness, he returned to a better mind. At the end of three years, through the help of his cousin Cuthred,[1] he was restored to his kingdom, took back his faithful wife, and ruled well. He now proceeded to carry out his father's will with regard to the church. "And whereas," says Milner, "the churches that were raised upon the conversion of our ancestors were, in general, of

[1] He was the son of Cuichelm. In gratitude Kenwalk bestowed Berkshire upon him.

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very rude workmanship, being nothing else, for the most part, than trunks of trees placed close to each other and covered with reeds, and also built upon a very contracted scale, our cathedral was celebrated for the beauty of its first architecture, and its dimensions were the same which it afterwards possessed, when no expense was spared to make it as magnificent as possible."[1] It was completed and hallowed on Christmas Day, 648, being dedicated to the Holy Trinity. Kenwalk endowed it with the manors of Worthy, Alresford, and Downton.

Two years afterwards Bishop Birinus died and was buried at Dorchester (December 3, 650). His remains were translated to Winchester by Bishop Hedda in 686.[2]

He was succeeded by Agilbert, a Frenchman, probably a native of Paris, and since Bede introduces him simply as a "certain bishop, a Gaul by nation," it would seem that he had already been consecrated by French bishops, and without any see. He had studied in Ireland before Kenwalk appointed him to succeed Birinus. But his foreign pronunciation gave offence to the capricious king, who, in consequence, determined to have a more polished preacher at his court, and selecting a monk of his new church at

[1] The author adds that Kenwalk was much assisted by the famous St. Benedict Biscop, Abbot of Wearmouth (see "Diocese of Durham," 65–72, 89), who was most skilful in architecture, and who took immense pains to search out the best continental artists to build churches in Britain.

[2] He was canonized; and two or three churches in Scotland are dedicated to him.

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Winchester, named Wina, he sent him to France to be consecrated as bishop, and then placed him in Winchester, assigning the south part of the kingdom for his diocese, and the north for that of Agilbert.

This irregular and high-handed proceeding gave such offence to Agilbert that he resigned his see and went into Northumbria, where he took the side of Wilfred at the Council of Whitby in 664 (see "Diocese of Durham," p. 28). He then retired to his native France, consecrated Wilfred, whom he had already ordained priest at Compiègne, and was made Bishop of Paris. Before three years had passed, Kenwalk had become dissatisfied with Wina, and expelled him from his diocese. Thus, from having two bishops together, Wessex had now none. It remained deserted for four years, when Kenwalk, whose conscience had again been awakened by trouble—for the Mercian king had defeated him in several fights—besought Agilbert to return. He excused himself on the ground of infirmity,[1] but recommended his nephew, Eleutherius, who came, was received with open arms by priests and people, and consecrated by Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 670. Wina, on his expulsion, betook himself to Wulphere, king of the Mercians, who, having received from him a large sum of money as a bribe, recommended (equivalent to commanded) Sebba, the king of the East Saxons, to make him Bishop of London. Bede says that he died in possession of

[1] He died next year. In the "Archives Nationales," at Paris, his name appears attached to a charter.

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that see, but Rudborne[1] declares that he was so struck with remorse that he retired to his monastery of Winchester and spent the last days of his life in penitence, and that he had continually upon his lips, "If we have erred in youth let us repent in age."[2]

During the episcopate of Eleutherius, who justified Agilbert's recommendation by his piety and wisdom, King Kenwalk died (672), whereupon, says Bede, "his under-rulers took upon themselves the kingdom of the people, and, dividing it among themselves, held it ten years." During this state of things Eleutherius also died, and Hedda, Abbot of Strenshall (Whitby) was consecrated his successor in London by Archbishop Theodore. Hedda is described by Bede as a good and just man, who in his works showed more virtue than learning. William of Malmesbury, however, who had seen his letters to Aldhelm, says that he was no mean scholar either. He assisted King Ina in drawing up his celebrated code of laws. Hedda is one of the Bishops of Winchester who received the honour of canonisation. He is chiefly noticeable to us as having removed the "bishop's stool" from Dorchester to Winchester. The need of having a see near the Mercian border existed no longer, for there were now four bishops in that kingdom. On his death, in 705, the diocese was divided, on the resolve of an episcopal synod. Hampshire,

[1] "Ang. Sacra," i., 190.

[2] Rudborne being connected with Winchester is more likely to be correct than Bede, who lived in the north. And Wina was certainly buried at Winchester.

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Surrey, Sussex, and the Isle of Wight were kept to Winchester; the western parts were committed to a see which was established at Sherborne; the first bishop of the newly-made see being the monk-poet, Aldhelm. But in 711 Sussex was separated from the diocese of Winchester, and placed under the newly-created see of Selsey. Surrey, also, was placed under the same see, but before long reverted to Winchester.

The dioceses, as arranged by Archbishop Theodore, at the Council of Hertford, had this noteworthy difference from those of the rest of Christendom. On the Continent the tribes who overthrew the Roman Empire and established their own governments in its place, thereby laying the foundations of modern Europe, found the Church already existing, and respected it. The dioceses, therefore, antedated the kingdoms; but in our own country the kingdoms were founded before the Christian missionaries came, and thus the dioceses were originally conterminous with the kingdoms. The Archbishop of Canterbury was the ecclesiastical ruler, and the royal chaplain of the kingdom of Kent, as the Bishop of Dorchester was of Wessex. As Christianity spread, it became necessary to increase the episcopate, and it was in his endeavour to do this that Theodore encountered a most strenuous opposition from the bishops. When he succeeded he was careful to work on the old lines by fixing his new bishoprics within the boundaries of the existing kingdoms; thus the East Angles being divided into two tribes, the Northfolk and the Southfolk, he made two

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sees for them, Dunwich and Elmham. But, moreover, it would seem that as Wessex was the first of the kingdoms to be broken up into shires, a bishop was appointed to each, though the evidence is not clear, owing to the want of written history of the southern parts. But incidentally, as we shall presently see, there is mention of two contemporary bishops of Wessex.

There were now in England three chief states. *Northumbria* was the northern kingdom; it contained only the land of the Lindiswaras (Lincolnshire) south of the Humber. *Mercia*, ruled by King Wulphere, was supreme over not only middle England, but over the East and South Saxons and Kent. The South Saxon King, Edelwalch, appears to have invited him to become his overlord, in order to be protected against *Wessex*. Hitherto the South Saxons, shut out from all the rest of the island by the Andredesweald had remained heathen. But now Edelwalch was baptised in presence of Wulphere, who in reward of his confidence gave him the Jutish settlement of Wight and the Meonwaras, which he had wrested, with their will or against it, from Wessex. They had always kept themselves distinct from their neighbours,[1] but now they shared the efforts which were to be made for the evangelisation of their new masters. How St. Wilfred laboured in the north may be read

[1] On the west of the Meon river, on the edge of the downs which extend in unbroken line from Winchester, is the village of Exton. The name at first sight might appear to mean "water-town," but in its old form it is always *Est-Saxon-tune*, which looks as if it were the eastern frontier of the West Saxons, overlooking the Meonwaras.

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in the histories of Durham and York, and how he came to remove into the land of the South Saxons is told in that of Chichester. But he finds his place in our volume also, for memorials of his labours among the Meonwaras remain to this day. As we pass up the Meon river we come first to Meonstoke, with an old church partly Norman, but nearly rebuilt by William of Wykeham. And close to it, on the very bank of the river, is another ancient church, Corhampton. It is small, and to a careless observer has little of interest; but it is the oldest church in the county, unquestionably Saxon.[1] The details are full of interest to the student of architecture, but yet more interesting to the lover of Church history will be this memorial of the untiring zeal of St. Wilfred of York.[2] In the next village on the Meon, Warnford, we come on another relic. Here is a heavy Norman church, much out of repair, on which are two ancient inscriptions, setting forth that the church was founded by St. Wilfred, and restored by Adam de Port. The latter was a great landholder in Hampshire, who lived in the days of Henry II.

Then, proceeding further up the river, is West Meon. There formerly stood a very ancient church here, clumsy and unsightly at first glance; but the late Mr. G. E. Street told me that it had curious

[1] See Parker's "Introduction to Gothic Architecture," pp. 27, 31, where there is an engraving of it. There is a yew-tree in front, so gnarled and weather-beaten that a well-known naturalist to whom I once showed it, exclaimed enthusiastically, "That *must* be the oldest yew-tree in the world!"

[2] Compare the account of St. Aldhelm's church at Bradford-on-Avon, History of Salisbury diocese, p. 41.

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features such as he had never seen elsewhere. Unfortunately, instead of being restored, it was replaced by a handsome new church some forty years ago, ancient architecture then being less understood than now. And next, at East Meon, where the river rises, is a fine old Norman church; but its foundation will come before us hereafter. The whole story is worth the telling—that of a people wedged in between two partially strange races, and of a mission to them leaving apparently much lasting fruit.[1]

In the middle of the seventh century was born St. Aldhelm, the father of the literature of Southern Britain, an account of whose works in Wessex will be found in the history of the Salisbury diocese. The monastic works of Wessex, indeed, are small compared with those of Northumbria at the same period. Everywhere such works were of inestimable value, not merely for missionary purposes and the furtherance of learning, but for developing the resources and awakening the industry of the country. Spots that had been dreary moors or silent woodlands were changed into centres of social life, of agricultural fertility, and of busy manufacture.

The early history of the monastic houses before the Conquest is but slightly known. The ravages of the Danes destroyed vast numbers of records, and the

[1] Another Hampshire church is traditionally ascribed to St. Wilfred, that of Headbourne Worthy, near Winchester. Parts of it are undoubtedly Saxon, but the later additions are also curious and interesting. It has been beautifully restored within the last few years. "Oh, what a gem, what a gem!" cried Bishop Wilberforce enthusiastically when he saw it.

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changes of Government cause confusion sometimes quite inextricable. But the Abbey of Ciroteseye (Chertsey), afterwards to become one of the most important in the kingdom, is said to have been founded in 666 by Erkenwald, Bishop of London, and Frithwald, Governor of Surrey, who gave land in Chertsey itself and five manors in Thorpe for the purpose. Mr. J. R. Green says this foundation is the first sign of English life discernible in the county of Surrey (p. 355). It was afterwards burned by the Danes, and the abbot and ninety monks were slain. Up to the fifteenth century it several times received successive grants, and became one of the "mitred abbeys," its abbot being one of the Lords of Parliament, and one of the twenty-nine abbots who held of the king by barony. A MS. in the Record Office contains "A Ledger Book of the Abbey of Chertsey," in which is a curious plan of the buildings and lands.

Although Wessex had been weakened by wars and civil strife, yet its life remained in it. The internal quarrels had not been between various tribes, as had been the case in Northumbria, between the Deirians and Bernicians, for the West Saxons were all one people; but between different members of the royal family. In 683 Wessex had so far recovered that, under King Ceadwalla, it established its supremacy over Sussex and the Isle of Wight. Ceadwalla then attempted Kent, but being repulsed he gave up his kingdom in disgust, started on pilgrimage to Rome, and soon died. He was succeeded by Ina, who reigned 37 years. He succeeded against Kent, so that he ruled from Dorset to Thanet, while from

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Mercia he took the dominion over the East Saxons, with their city of London. Then he pushed westwards, drove back the Welsh further into Devon, making himself master of Somerset as far as the River Tone. Here he built a fortress, and it was called Toneton,—Taunton. And at Glastonbury, already a sacred shrine of the British and Irish Christians, he richly endowed a monastery, and founded a magnificent church of stone, beside the wooden one already existing. He also gave to the Church of Winchester 30 hides of land at Ewerland (Yaverland), and 50 hides at Brading, in the Isle of Wight. His son and successor, Ethelard, gave 7 manses; his cousin Cuthred, King of Wessex in 741, gave 40 hides at Muleburn (Isle of Wight), 25 at Banewad, and 32 at Whippingham. Again, however, the war, which was the special curse of Wessex, broke out, namely, between rivals in the same royal family, and, after a thirty-three years' glorious reign, Ina, in disgust, laid down his sceptre, went to Rome, and died. Wessex was once more in anarchy, and for twenty years Mercia was again supreme. But the traditions of Ina's happy reign gave the West Saxons courage and resolution not to remain subjects to any but their own king. They rose in revolt, and when their hosts met those of the Mercian king, he was seized with a panic and fled.

There is one great man belonging to this period who, though he was neither born in the diocese nor laboured in it, can yet be claimed as one of its glories. Winfred of Crediton, better known to us as St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, was educated

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in the monastery of Nursling from childhood, and spent many years there, winning respect both for his learning and his self-denying, humble piety. He was ordained priest at thirty-two, and four years afterwards went, with two monastic brethren, to convert the heathen Frisians, refusing the abbacy of his monastery on the ground that he was called to the work of a missionary for Christ. His grand work belongs to other history. He died on Whitsun Eve, 756, having been a missionary for thirty-nine years, and a bishop for thirty; but his letters to Bishop Daniel, which are still extant, show his undying love for his native Wessex. His plain red sandstone monument in Mainz Cathedral is cherished as the chief glory of that grand pile, and throughout the country which he christianised, every relic of him is cherished with pride and love.

A fresh quarrel between two Ethelings in Wessex led to the flight of one of them, Egbert, first to the court of Offa, then to that of Charles the Great, who was just now gathering together the Franks into a great empire. Egbert was for some years at his court, and very probably saw him crowned Emperor of the West in the year 800. That event, of such vast importance in the history of Europe and of the world ever since, had an immediate effect, not only upon Egbert but upon the English. His rival died in 802, and he returned to England to take the West Saxon kingdom. Probably Charles the Great had offered him his support in case he should attempt to compass the supremacy of the whole country. In 815 he subdued the British kingdom of Dyvnaint

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(our Devon and Cornwall). Thus all the old native tribes, except Central Wales, were brought under English rule. In 821 Kenwulf, King of Mercia, died, and after a brief struggle his kingdom fell to the rule of the West Saxon. Next year Egbert marched upon Northumbria also. It was wasted by internal troubles; the pirates who swarmed along the coast kept the people in such terror that, longing to be at one with the rest of the nation, the Northumbrians met him on his march, and offered their submission. Not a blow was struck, the conviction that they should be at one, which the Church had taught them, had entered into the conscience of the whole people, and for the first time they were all knit together under a single rule. It is true that Egbert did not call himself King of England, though he was so in fact. The other princes kept their titles of king for a while, and he was their "Overlord."

As an act of thanksgiving, he gave to the church at Winchester land at Calbourne (Isle of Wight), at Droxford, Worthy, Alton, and Beddington.

There had now been ten bishops since the removal of the see from Dorchester, but only one requires mention—DANIEL. Like Aldhelm he was a monk of Malmesbury, and was living in the time of Bede, who, in his history, acknowledges his obligations to his great learning. St. Boniface too, the Apostle of Germany, is said to have preferred consulting Daniel in any difficulty before any man on the continent. After administering his diocese for forty-two years he resigned his see and once more became a monk of Malmesbury, "to the end, that he might conclude his life in quiet repose."

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CHAPTER II.

THE DAYS OF ST. SWITHUN AND KING ALFRED.

THE unity of the English people under King Egber was not effected a day too soon. The fierce Northmen having made a settlement in Ireland came with a great fleet of thirty-five ships to Charmouth, on the coast of Dorset, where King Egbert encountered them, "and there was great slaughter made," says the English Chronicle, "and the Danish men kept possession of the field; and Herefrith and Wigthun, two bishops, died." These two bishops, as far as appears, were both bishops of Wessex, and we must conclude that the division into shires, which had begun in Wessex, and which was soon to extend through England, was the cause of a creation of suffragan bishops, of which, however, no further record remains.

HELMSTAN, one of the monks of Winchester, became bishop about 837, and was selected by Egbert to superintend the education of his younger son, Ethelwulf. He employed in the charge another monk of the cathedral, Swithun, a native of the city. The tutor appears to have imbued his pupil with a love of the ministry, for Ethelwulf became one of the clergy of the cathedral. He had, however, advanced no further than the order of subdeacon, when his elder

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brother died, and he became the next heir to the throne. A papal dispensation was obtained, and on his father's death in 837 he was called, by the voice of the nation, to the throne. He had succeeded to a troubled heritage, and his reign was one of hard fighting from beginning to end. He was defeated at Charmouth, and the Northmen plundered Canterbury, Rochester, and London. But he gave them such a tremendous defeat at Aclea (Ockley in Surrey) that they were fain to go away across the Channel and establish themselves, in the land which was called after them Normandy. And thus Ethelwulf so far succeeded that after his death there was peace for a few years. Bishop Helmstan had died soon after Ethelwulf's accession, and the king had appointed SWITHUN, who had now become prior of the monastery, to succeed him (A.D. 852). The people of Winchester were delighted with the choice, and his after history proves what an excellent one it was. For he was not only a wise statesman and councillor to the king, but also indefatigable in promoting the good of the city and administering the diocese. The old historians attribute much of the glory of King Alfred's reign to the bishop's wise counsel. He "was a diligent builder of churches in the diocese, and a repairer of those that had been ruined," was constantly travelling about among his people, and it is said that when he went on visitations he was so averse to pomp and ceremony that he used to travel by night.[1] The same

[1] William of Malmesbury.

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chronicler writes, "he was a treasury of virtues, but those for which he was most distinguished were his mildness and humility." One of his beneficent works was the construction of the eastern bridge over the Itchen;[1] and one chronicler writes that he made a practice during the work of sitting there and watching the workmen, that his presence might stimulate their industry.[2] But the most important event connected with Bishop Swithun and King Ethelwulf is the charter given by the king for the general establishment of tithes throughout the kingdom, in consequence of the increasing number of the clergy, the formation of new parishes and the building of new churches. The instrument was signed at Winchester in 854 by the king and two of his vassals—Burhed, king of Mercia, and Edmund, king of the East Angles, and was then placed on the high altar in the presence of Swithun and a large number of

W.H.S.

[1] This is not only recorded by Malmesbury, but in the following lines quoted in Warton's "History of English Poetry:"—

"Seynt Swithun his bishopricke to al goodnesse drough:
The towne also of Wynchestre he amended inough.
For he lette the stronge bruge without the towne arere
And fond thereto lym and ston and the workmen that ther wer."

[2] Three arches of this bridge were discovered in 1880.

Among the many legends that have gathered round his name is one connected with this bridge. A labourer happened to run against an old woman who was carrying eggs to market, upset her basket and smashed the eggs. The saint immediately restored them to their due shape and consistency.—WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY.

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nobles and prelates.[1] The annalist, in telling of the act, calls on all the churches of England to pay due veneration to the cathedral of Winchester from which the advantage had come to them.[2] And he is right. By this charter Ethelwulf becomes one of the chief founders of the National Church, for it supplied the machinery for giving the church its missionary character, and undoubtedly had an immense effect in causing parish churches to be built in England. The manor of Brightwell was conferred on the see by him. Within the last few years the advowson has been made over to the see of Oxford.

Let us not omit either that in 856 the trade and commerce of Winchester increasing exceedingly, the citizens formed themselves, under the royal protection, into a *guild.* It is the first, by a century, of any such institutions, and was the foundation of the *Corporation.*

Ethelwulf was succeeded in 857 by his son Ethelbald, whose undutiful conduct had embittered his father's last days,[3] and who now shamefully married his father's widow, Judith. Swithun, however, by his eloquence and by the power of his personal holiness, induced the young king to gain a victory over himself by putting her away, and asking pardon of God publicly for his sin. The bishop also persuaded him to prepare for any sudden invasion of the Danes by fortifying the church and cloister. It was a well-

[1] The document is now in the British Museum.

[2] Rudborne, "Hist. Maj.," iii., 2.

[3] Ethelwulf's remains are preserved in a chest in the cathedral, inscribed "Rex Adulphus."

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timed act, for in the days of his brother Ethelbert, who succeeded him, the Northmen, building their hopes on his inexperience, landed a great army at Southampton and made a dash at the city (860). They committed great excesses and plundered the houses, but the fortifications saved the cathedral and all the citizens who had withdrawn into them. The Danes had no time to attack these, for the news arriving that the king was in full march against them, they withdrew with their booty, and were conveying it to their ships at Southampton, when the thegns of Hampshire and Berkshire set upon them, and routed them with great slaughter. They made their escape with difficulty, leaving their plunder behind them, and sailed away to the Isle of Thanet, where they wintered. Soon afterwards (862) Bishop Swithun died, and, according to his own wish, was buried not in the church but in the churchyard, "where the rain of heaven might fall upon him."

King Ethelbald was succeeded by his brother Ethelbert, and he again by a third brother Ethelred (866). And now the Danes came more powerful than ever; for not only had they gathered fresh forces from abroad, but they were encouraged by some of the Mercians and Northumbrians, who hoped to see an opportunity of overthrowing the West Saxon supremacy. With burning and undaunted courage, to which was joined genuine piety, Ethelred fought for his country, and beside him his youngest and best beloved brother, Alfred. In the year 871 the two brothers fought side by side nine pitched battles with the Danes; but the latter, reinforced

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by constant additions and helped by treacherous Englishmen, though defeated so often, still held their ground. Ethelred was mortally wounded at length at the battle of Merton, and retired to the monastery of Wimborne to die. The same year the Danes again beset Winchester on a sudden, and killed all the clergy of the cathedral. Not one among them escaped, says the chronicler, Rudborne. Bishop Milner, in his "History of Winchester," says that one consequence of this calamity was the deterioration of the clergy. "There was a necessity of admitting to the ministry such clergy as could be procured for the purpose; who, being unacquainted with the strict discipline of their predecessors, gradually degenerated from their piety; and, in conclusion, fell into those disorders which ended in their disgrace."

Alfred the Great, noblest of Englishmen and of kings, had been entrusted by his father, Ethelwulf, to the care of St. Swithun, who had fulfilled the trust by educating him well. When his brother Ethelred died, Alfred called his West Saxon nobility together, laid his father's will before them, which left him the crown, but assured them that he was willing to forego his claim if they should judge any one else worthier. They elected him with acclamations, and he was "hallowed" by Bishop DUNBERT.

Wessex at this time was behind all England in education. Alfred declared that when he became king he did not know one priest south of the Thames who could translate his service-book into English. The Danish massacres may, in part, account

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for this. He brought instructors from Mercia, from Wales, from St. Omer, from Corbey. He established a school for the young nobles in his court, and himself drew up books for instruction, translating some works from the Latin, and writing others from his own springs of information.

For the use of the learned monk, St. Grimbald, whom he had brought from St. Omer,[1] he founded a new monastery in the burial ground of the cathedral. It was not, however, finished by him but by his son Edward, who endowed it with lands at Micheldever, Hyde, and other places.[2] It was called New Minster, to distinguish it from the cathedral, which naturally was called Old Minster.[3] At first it was tenanted by secular canons, over whom St. Grimbald presided; but the latter died in 903. Alfred also built a monastery at Athelney, in thankfulness for his deliverance; a nunnery at Seftisbury (Shaftesbury), where his daughter Athalgive became a nun; and the Abbey of St. Mary in Winchester, commonly known as the Nunna Mynstre. This last was built at the request of his queen, she intending it for the place of her retreat in case of surviving him.

Winchester itself was almost a solitude at the time

[1] Alfred is said to have expressed in a most practical fashion his gratitude to the Archbishop of Rheims for sending the monk. He sent him back a present of a number of English mastiffs, who destroyed all the wolves that were infesting his neighbourhood.

[2] The ground cost a mark a foot, an enormous price in those days.

[3] In the days of Henry I. it was removed to Hyde Meadow, and the name New Minster disappeared.

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of his accession, owing to the ravages of the Danes. Before his death he had restored it to its ancient dignity. It again became a seat of government, so that it was honoured by contemporary writers as the "Royal City." Alfred's end was glorious as his life. He had been great in war as in government. He loved righteousness and hated iniquity. His last victory over the Danes was so complete that for ten years there was peace in England.

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CHAPTER III.

GROWTH OF THE MONARCHY AND OF THE CHURCH.

ALFRED'S eldest son Edmund had been crowned king in his father's lifetime, but died before him, and was buried in Winchester Cathedral. Thus the succession devolved on his son Edward, commonly known as Edward the Elder. On the completion of the New Minster, it was consecrated by Plegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the remains of King Alfred were solemnly translated thither.[1] Alfred's widow, Eanswith, had fulfilled her intention of becoming a nun in St. Mary's Abbey, where her exemplary life caused her, after her death in 904, to be enrolled in the calendar of English saints. Edward the Elder was the founder of one of the noblest institutions of the diocese, Romsey Abbey; but not much is known of its history until the days of his grandson Edgar. That king made it a house for religious women, but it is uncertain whether its first occupants were not monks or canons.

[1] Bishop Milner, who is always ready with a disparaging word for the secular canons, says that those of the cathedral were ready enough to give up the remains, as they had a superstitious belief that their church was haunted by Alfred's ghost. At this time the cathedral canons were all seculars, mostly men of noble families. One was a son of Alfred, Ethelward.—"History of Winchester," p. 102.

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A few words will suffice to tell what is known of the bishops of Winchester during this period. St. Swithun's successor, ALFRITH, was translated to Canterbury; then followed DUNBERT, who is only known as having given the manor of Stusheling (Nursling) to the church and as having crowned King Alfred. DENEWULF is said by some ancient chroniclers to have been the herdsman whose wife rated Alfred for letting the cakes burn, and to have afterwards been educated by Alfred on learning his worth. The story is a myth. But whatever was his origin, Alfred's wisdom in selecting him was justified, for Denewulf was an active prelate and wise councillor. In 897 he was made governor of the Royal city.

The chroniclers tell, but in a very confused way, that after his death there was no Bishop of Winchester appointed for seven years, and that the Pope threatened the King with excommunication if the scandal continued. Not only is this story improbable in itself, but there are so many contradictions in the details that we may safely set the whole down as untrue. What, however, appears certain is that Archbishop Plegmund in 909 consecrated seven bishops at once—not all to sees that had been left vacant, but to some new ones. The limits of the Diocese of Winchester were left as before, but Sherborne, vacant at the same time, was subdivided into Sherborne, Wells, Crediton, and Bodmin. The other two were Selsey and Dorchester (for South Mercia).

The new Bishop of Winchester, FRITHSTAN, who had been a scholar of St. Grimbald, began as a secular,

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but, attracted by what he judged the greater piety of the regulars, he became a monk. He ruled well for twenty-two years; then, finding the end of his life approaching, and desiring to spend his remaining years in devout preparation for the great change, he nominated BRYNSTAN, a brother monk of the New Minster, as his successor, who "excelled in the virtue of charity, relieving the wants of the poor," and who spent many hours of each day in prayer.[1] ALPHEGE "the bald," uncle of Dunstan, came next, and on his death the see was offered to Dunstan himself, and declined. Then came one who seems to have been an unworthy prelate, ALFSIGE, who in his insatiable ambition used base means to obtain his election to the primacy. But, being impatient to procure the Papal confirmation, he started for Rome, became entangled in the Alpine snows, and though he had the horses of his company cut open alive that he might plunge his feet into them, it was of no avail, and he died (958). After the brief episcopate of BRITHELM, came Bishop ATHELWOLD, the son of an opulent citizen of Winchester, who had become a monk of Glastonbury, whence he was removed by King Edred to Abingdon, that he might rebuild the monastery there. From this post he was forcibly withdrawn at the instigation of Dunstan, to govern the church of his native city (963), and did so, with equal reputation for holiness, for learning, for zealous

[1] He would even wander about each day in the churchyard, says the chronicler, praying for the dead that he had known, whose lives had been such as grieved him.

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preaching, for industry in church building.[1] Besides his works at Ely, at Abingdon, at Thorney, at St. Neots, at Medeshamstead (Peterborough), and at Chertsey, where in each case he repaired the ravages made by the Danes, he rebuilt his cathedral church. The present crypt has been said to be his work, but more probably it is Norman. He removed the bones of St. Swithun from the churchyard into the cathedral on July 15, 971, in the middle of a tremendous thunderstorm and downpour of rain, according to the tradition which has become one of our household words. He likewise rebuilt the Nun's Abbey in the city, and assisted King Edgar in the rebuilding or extension of the Abbey of Romsey, which had been founded by Edward the Elder.

But while the bishop thus laboured for the service of the sanctuary, he was yet more zealous to relieve the wants of the poor. During a great famine he sold the church vessels to buy food for them. The impoverished buildings, he said, might be enriched again, but those who were starved could not be brought again to life. Another public work which won for him the gratitude of future generations, was to make canals, at great labour and cost, to bring fresh water into all parts of the city.

But the chief event which we associate with the episcopate of Athelwold was the great revolution which, with the assistance of himself and Oswald, Bishop of Worcester, Dunstan was enabled to carry

[1] "Nescires quid in eo magis laudares, sanctitatis studium, an doctrinæ exercitium, in prædicatione instantiam, in ædificiis industriam."—WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY.

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out in many monasteries. The strong gravitation which was drawing all things under the central power of Rome, had been already seen in the victory of the Roman over the Scottish monks. No doubt there was both evil and good in this; but few impartial readers will doubt that in this centralising influence, at that particular period, lay much of the secret of civilisation and strength in the Church. Making all allowance for the prejudices of the monkish chroniclers, the evidence seems strong that the condition of the secular clergy, as well as of their ecclesiastical buildings, was a most discreditable one. The characters of the kings—even of Edgar himself—had given encouragement to licentiousness and irreligion; so had that of some prelates. No wonder, therefore, that a considerable number of the clergy had forgotten the obligations of their calling, and fallen into a lax condition of morals.[1]

The clergy of Winchester Cathedral, unlike those of Canterbury, were seculars. St. Birinus was not a monk, and he had settled canons, not monks, in the Cathedral of Dorchester. At Winchester there were also canons under a superior called *Decanus*. They were almost universally married; and now, as we

[1] "They left to substitutes (maintained no matter how) the duty of attendance in the choir and the ministry of the altar, and, often absenting themselves for seven years from the sight of the church, not to say of God, spent, where and as they thought proper, whatever they received from their prebends. The church was stripped bare within and without, for the substitutes had nothing wherewith to clothe or roof it, and scarce a canon could be found who would bestow on the altar a sorry pall or a chalice worth five shillings."—WINTON ANNALIST.

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have said, the bishop resolved to change all this—to replace them by monks of the Order of St. Benedict, who had been introduced by St. Wilfred, and of whom it would be known what rule they followed: for, indeed, as yet they were the only true monks in England. Athelwold had often admonished his clergy for their irregularities, and received promise of amendment; but at length, being backed by the presence of King Edgar, he came to the cathedral, on the first Saturday in Lent, 964, accompanied by one who bore a number of Benedictine cowls, and then, after a pathetic discourse to them on holiness of life, he called on the canons to put on these and conform to the Benedictine rule, or to quit the Church. Three yielded; the rest quitted their stalls, and were replaced by monks from Abingdon. Those who were thus displaced were provided for out of the Church revenues, but the disgrace remained; and William of Malmesbury declares that they felt it so bitterly that they attempted to poison the bishop, and he barely escaped with his life.[1] He translated the rule of St. Benedict into Anglo-Saxon for their benefit. At any rate, one good result followed. The Winchester monastery became famed for learning, and some of the most eminent prelates of the next generation came from thence. A charter of King Edgar to the monks of Malmesbury will show us the object aimed at in this:—"I, Edgar, King of all Albion, and exalted by the subjection of the surrounding kings,

[1] Dunstan was present at his death, which took place at Beddington, August 1, 984.

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through the grace of God, to an eminence never enjoyed by any of my progenitors, have often diligently considered what especial offering I should make from my earthly kingdom to the King of Kings. In aid of my filial devotion, heavenly love suddenly insinuated to my watchful solicitude that I should rebuild all the holy monasteries throughout my kingdom, which, as they were visibly ruined, with mouldering shingles and worm-eaten boards, even to the rafters, so, which was yet worse, they had become internally neglected, and almost destitute of the worship of God. Wherefore, ejecting those illiterate clerks, subject to the discipline of no regular order, in many places I have appointed pastors of a holier race, *i.e.*, of the monastic order. . . . ."

It must be confessed that, honest and praiseworthy as was the motive of all this change, namely, the bringing the clergy out of worldliness and insisting on their better education, there were other features which are not pleasant to reflect upon. There must have been domestic misery to those who obeyed the command and put away their wives. Disgrace and shame were set upon wedded love. The strife arising out of the arbitrary act divided England into two parties, and provoked numberless hostilities. Phenomena to which the monk historians appeal as miraculous confirmation of Dunstan's arguments, seem to ourselves not, indeed, fortuitous, but frauds.[1] And then,

[1] *E.g.*, at the Council of Calne, when the whole question of celibate or married clergy was under debate, the floors fell through over which the seculars were sitting, while the regulars remained in safety.

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after all, the question was not closed. Twenty-five years after Athelwold's death, at the synod of Enham, it was declared that there were some clergy who had two wives. It seems that some who had been compelled to put away their wives, finding after a while that the strain was loosened, renounced their celibacy again and took, not the old, but a new consort. But the course of the events which followed all tended to further the policy which Dunstan had inaugurated.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE DAYS OF THE DANISH KINGS.

In 975 King Edgar died, and the glory of his kingdom died with him. His son Edward, after a short and troubled reign, was murdered by the intrigues of his step-mother, Elfrida. In expiation of her guilt she founded the Benedictine nunnery of Wherwell, and there ended her days, and was buried. The son, Ethelred, on whose behalf the crime was committed, entered into the evil inheritance of the throne, to his own misery. He was a proud and wilful boy, whose chief aim was to be independent of his Witan, and whom they nicknamed "the Redeless," or "Unready," because he would have none of their "rede," or counsel. Dunstan, so long as he lived, had influence over him, but he died in 988, and soon after fresh troubles came.

The Danes for some years had been consolidating themselves in Scandinavia and Iceland. Three kingdoms had been formed there—Sweden, Denmark, Norway. In 994 a combined fleet of the two latter nations, under Sweyn and Olaf, appeared once more on the English coast. Ethelred had disgusted his nobles and there was little help from them, so he bought off the invaders, and the Chronicle tells how he sent the Bishop of Winchester (Alphege II.) to

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deliver hostages, after which the king received Olaf "with much worship" at Andover. Then he resolved to make alliance with those Northmen who had settled in France a hundred years before, and had now become a great power; and he took Emma, the Norman duke's daughter, to wife. But hearing that many Danes had landed in various parts of the country, and also that the northern mercenaries whom he had brought to England to fight on his side were likely to go to the side of Sweyn, he sent out orders from Winchester to murder all the Danes in England on St. Brice's Day (November 13), 1002. The massacre began in Winchester, and was executed with dreadful cruelty everywhere, women and children being ruthlessly slain. Next year the vengeance came. Sweyn marched for four years, to and fro, in southern and eastern England. Southampton was pillaged, and nearly all the inhabitants killed. The second abbess of Edgar's monastery of Romsey fled, with all her nuns, to Winchester, and the monastery was sacked. Waltham, Wilton, Sarum, were burned. At length, for a heavy bribe, he withdrew, but the country was no better off, for a fresh band came. In 1012 they sacked and burned Canterbury, and dragged the archbishop, Alphege, as far as Greenwich, where they murdered him. He had succeeded Athelwold as Bishop of Winchester in 984, and been translated to Canterbury in 1006. All hope for England seemed over now, and Ethelred fled to Normandy. But two years afterwards Sweyn died, and Ethelred was recalled to England. But he also soon died (1016),

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the worst and weakest of the descendants of Egbert. He left a son, Edmund, surnamed Ironside, but there was no kingdom for him, it was all in the hands of the Danes. The Witan met at Winchester and elected the son of Sweyn, Cnut, to the vacant throne. On the other hand, the Londoners elected Edmund. For seven months the rival kings fought fiercely, and no braver deeds are recorded in history than those of Edmund Ironside. Then a conference was held between the two rivals who had learned to respect each other, and they agreed to divide the kingdom between them; but, immediately afterwards, Edmund died (November 30, 1016), and Cnut the Dane became king of all England.

Visitors to Southampton may see a tablet on the seashore, near the confluence of the Test and the Itchen, marking the site where, according to the tradition, he rebuked his courtiers' flattery. After that scene he vowed never more to wear his royal crown, and it was hung up in Winchester Cathedral, which, on its rebuilding by Athelwold, had been rededicated to the memory of St. Swithun, and was generally called St. Swithun's Priory[1] down to the time of the Reformation.

[1] Every monastery was under an abbot, but as some monasteries were subject to larger ones, the smaller houses were under a lieutenant of the abbot, and this lieutenant was called the prior. The monastery attached to a cathedral was a priory, because the bishop was always the abbot in such case. Many monasteries, especially after the Norman Conquest, were known as "alien houses;" that is, they were under foreign monasteries, with a prior from the superior monastery ruling them.

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After a prosperous and peaceful reign Cnut died at Shaftesbury in 1035, and was buried in Winchester Cathedral. His widow Emma, who always favoured his children against those of her first husband, continued to live at Winchester in royal state, and amassed vast riches, of which she would seem, according to the old chroniclers, to have been fairly liberal towards churches, but miserly towards the poor.[1]

In 1042 Harthacnut died, the last of the Danish race, and the English people joyfully called on the remaining son of Ethelred and Emma to occupy the vacant throne. He is known to us as Edward the Confessor, and was crowned at Winchester on Easter Day, 1043.

During the Danish dynasty there were several Bishops of Winchester, but two only call for notice. ALPHEGE, a monk of Deerhurst, and afterwards Prior of Glastonbury, was consecrated to the see by Dunstan in 984, translated to Canterbury in 1005, and martyred six years later. He is noticeable for having introduced the first organ into Winchester Cathedral. ALWYN, who became bishop in 1032, first appears as a young soldier sent with Emma as her guardian on her marriage with Ethelred. He distinguished himself in the English army in warfare against the Danes until the accession of Cnut left him the opportunity, which he had been desiring, of embracing the monk's life, and he entered the Cathedral Priory of St. Swithun. After a while Bishop Athelwold made him sacristan, and perhaps this was in part the reason why Cnut and Emma

[1] Malmesbury, ii. 196.

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lavished rich presents on the cathedral. It was the only way they could compliment him, as a monk can receive no presents for himself. After nineteen years in this monastery, Cnut, at the instance of the Queen, appointed him Bishop of Winchester, and he held the see for fifteen years, in the course of which we have the legend which many historians go on relating as fact,[1] but which is not found in any chronicle prior to the fourteenth century. This legend tells that Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, in revenge for some injury unknown started calumnious reports reflecting on the honour of Queen Emma and Bishop Alwyn, charging her also with the murder of Prince Alfred, and with throwing impediments in the way of her son Edward's succession, the king was inclined to believe the story; whereupon she, having retired to the monastery of Wherwell, demanded the trial by ordeal for proof of her innocence; and, accordingly, she walked blindfolded, barefooted, and unhurt over nine red-hot ploughshares in the nave of the cathedral.[2] Dismissing this then as pure myth, we, nevertheless, find that Queen Emma fell under the displeasure of her son, though it was at a later date, and the circumstances belong to the next chapter.

[1] Milner tells it all circumstantially. Archbishop Robert's speech, as given by the Winton Annalist, is furious "Billingsgate" (sub anno 1043).

[2] Wharton says ("History of English Poetry," i. 89), that in the year 1338 (three centuries after it is alleged to have happened), a minstrel sang the ballad of "Queen Emma and the Ploughshares," before Adam de Orleton, the bishop, in the prior's hall. This is the "authority" for the story.

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CHAPTER V.

THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

UP to this time the history of the See and Diocese of Winchester has been closely connected with the whole history of England. Winchester has been the royal city. But from the time of the Danish invasions it began to lose its national supremacy. A sign of this was given when, in 958, Edgar was "hallowed" as King of Wessex and Emperor of all Britain, not at Winchester, but on the banks of the Thames, and within reach of London. The spot became from that time for some years the regular scene of the "hallowings," and the kings were seated on a stone which was called "the King's Stone." And this stone is still to be seen in an open space of the little town of *Kingston*-on-Thames. Presently Winchester again became the scene of the coronations, but the influence of London had now overshadowed that of the other towns, through the commerce which Edgar had encouraged there. Harold Harefoot had been buried in Westminster Abbey (it is the first mention of it in the Chronicle), though his brother, with senseless brutality, afterwards dragged the body from its grave, and threw it into the river. Edward's palace was now at Westminster, and though he was crowned at Winchester, his name

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has come down to us fast-bound with Westminster Abbey.[1]

With King Edward the Confessor the Norman Conquest really begins. His sympathies were altogether Norman, and his reign is in great part occupied with the struggle between the English people, represented by the great Earl Godwin, and the king's Norman friends. The first act of Edward on his accession was, to all appearance, a very harsh one. At the Witenagemot of Gloucester, 1043, there was a debate upon Queen Emma's conduct, immediately after which the king and his three great earls rode to Winchester, seized her immense hoard of gold, silver, and jewels, and leaving her enough for her maintenance, ordered her to live quietly at Winchester. What she had done does not appear. It may have been that he knew she had acted unfriendly and treacherously towards him, either in favouring his younger brothers, the Danish princes, or more probably in intriguing for the succession of Sweyn Egfrithson, the Danish competitor at the time of Edward's election; or he may have learned what people were all saying, namely, that notwithstanding all the wealth she had gathered together, she treated

[1] "The influence of Wessex was still very great during the reigns of the first two Norman kings. London and Winchester divided the chief honours between them. It was Henry I. who began the system of moving about from place to place in his dominions; and the solemn ceremony of wearing his crown at public meetings was no longer confined to Winchester, Westminster, and Gloucester. He did so at St. Albans, at Dunstable, at Carlisle, at Northampton, and at Norwich."—FREEMAN, v. 160.

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the poor with utter neglect, and only gave of it to monasteries. She had given the Manors of Meon (East and West), and Froxfield to the See, and these gifts Edward confirmed.

In 1047 Bishop Alwyn of Winchester died, and the appointment of STIGAND, Bishop of Elmham, is a sign of a temporary victory of the anti-Norman party, achieved under Earl Godwin after a fierce and bitter struggle. All the Norman bishops but one were banished beyond sea. Stigand, still retaining Winchester, was then made Archbishop of Canterbury, to the immediate delight of the people, but the after results were very serious.

When the delirium of joy at the victory of the Englishmen had subsided, the outcry was raised that the Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert, had been uncanonically deprived, and a successor enthroned in his place without shadow of law. The English people liked and admired Stigand as a man, but all this made them shy of his religious ministrations. To make matters worse, he received his pallium from a pope who was afterwards declared to be uncanonical. Even Harold afterwards chose other hands than his to crown him, and to consecrate Waltham Abbey; and thus material was furnished for the indictment which William of Normandy brought against Godwin and his sons.

For the time, however, all looked bright. The English victory over the alien had been wrought without a life being lost; but Godwin did not live to rejoice in it. On Easter Monday of next year (1053)

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he suddenly fell down in a fit at King Edward's table at Winchester, and died four days after. He was buried with great pomp, and with one great outburst of national sorrow, in the cathedral. His son Harold succeeded to his earldom, and became the greatest subject of the kingdom. Thirteen years later, on the 5th of January, 1066, Edward the Confessor, having solemnly declared Harold his successor, died in his palace of Westminster, and was buried next morning in the abbey which he had founded hard by. On the same day, in the same abbey, Harold was crowned king of the English. On the 14th of October following, he lay dead on the bloody field of Senlac. So also did his uncle, Alfwy, Godwin's brother, the abbot of the New Minster of Winchester, with twelve of his monks who had marched to the field, first to pray for England and then to don their coats of mail over their monks' cowls, and so to fight and to die. Leofric, Abbot of Peterborough, now the great rival house of the New Minster, was also there for his country's sake, and received his death-wound.

The Conqueror immediately hastened to make himself master of Dover Castle, the strongest fortress in England; of Canterbury, the head ecclesiastical centre; and of Winchester, the ancient imperial city. It offered him no resistance. Out of deference, as he declared, to the widowed lady whose husband had bequeathed the crown to him, he would not appear there in battle array. He merely sent a message asking for submission, and received it. London for a while offered resistance, but at length sent its sub-

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mission. He entered it in the middle of December, and on Christmas Day was crowned in the Abbey, not by Stigand, but by Aldred, Archbishop of York. Stigand, indeed, was present and took part in the service, second only to that of Aldred, but it was as Bishop of Winchester,—his right to that office being undisputed. And it did not suit William's purpose to make any breach wider. He came two years afterwards and was again crowned, with his wife Matilda, in our cathedral. We pass on to note the effect which the great Conquest produced within the diocese of Winchester.

First, we have to look on the New Minster. Its abbot, with that of Peterborough, had perished on the field of Senlac. The monks of Peterborough had further dared the Conqueror by electing a new abbot, and sending to Edgar the Atheling to have him confirmed. William, enraged at this quiet contempt of his claims, vowed vengeance, but some common friend reconciled them, and at the cost of forty marks of tribute they bought their full pardon. The Winchester house fared not so well. They did not elect a new abbot at all for three years; either they feared to do so, or the Conqueror forbade them. He alienated a large portion of their manors and granted them to his followers; and he further seized a part of the precincts of the cathedral itself on which to build himself a palace. So narrow was the whole space that the walls of this palace almost touched the western walls of the church.[1] But with

[1] It reached as far as the High Street. A small portion of it is still said to exist near the Butter Cross.

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this confiscation his wrath seems to have cooled. In the third year he allowed the monks to choose a new bbot, restored some of the alienated lands, and gave others.

Between March and Christmas, 1067, he was in Normandy with a splendid suite of Norman and English nobility. Among them were Stigand and Edgar the Atheling. Stigand was treated with special honour, and was entertained with great profusion by Lanfranc, Abbot of St. Stephen's, at Caen. But it was in all probability already settled between the king and the abbot that Stigand should be deposed, and that Lanfranc should take the Primacy in his place. It is strange enough to read how when, after his return, William began his course of appointing Norman bishops to vacant sees by making Remigius of Fécamp, Bishop of Dorchester,[1] Stigand was called upon to consecrate him. William's policy was at least as acute as his conscience, for he dared not yet break with Stigand. During his absence in Normandy his brother's bad government had destroyed the settlement which William had made, and the work of conquest had almost to be wrought over again on his return. However, by 1070, the whole country was brought into subjection, immediately after which began a series of most important acts. First of all he caused the monasteries to be searched for treasures, which had been deposited for safety by those who had resisted him and been outlawed. Such treasure was everywhere seized. Then, at a Witena-

[1] Dorchester was at this time the largest see in England, reaching across Mid-England from the Thames to the Humber

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gemot at Winchester, formal accusation was brought against Stigand that he had broken Church law, first, by taking the archbishopric during the lifetime of Robert; secondly, by receiving his *pallium* from a schismatical pope; and, thirdly, by holding the see of Winchester with that of Canterbury. He was heard in his own defence. He appealed to the good faith of William, and protested against the violence that was being done to him; but his deprivation of both sees was a foregone conclusion. His brother Ethelmar, Bishop of Elmham, was deprived with him. The sees, however, were not filled up till the Whitsuntide following, when Thomas of Bayeux, one of the king's chaplains, was appointed to York, Aldred having just died; and Walkelin, another chaplain and a kinsman of William, was appointed to Winchester. The latter was consecrated immediately at Windsor, a place only just then coming into note, where William had built, or was building, a royal castle, to the disgust of the men of Berkshire. At the same Gemot the king and the whole assembly agreed to appoint Lanfranc to Canterbury, and he was consecrated the following August; after which the new Archbishop of York was also consecrated.

Stigand remained for the rest of his life in some sort of captivity at Winchester. Some writers speak of him as being kept "in chains," but this in all probability is mythical. William of Malmesbury, in addition to the above statement, adds, "Here Stigand kept life in him on the smallest possible quantity of food, seeing that no income came to him, and from his inborn meanness of spirit he would not draw from

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his own stock. And when his friends, and especially Queen Edith, besought him to eat and to be clothed more generously, he swore by everything that was holy that he had not a penny nor a penny's worth. That there was no foundation for such an oath was proved by the vast heaps of wealth found in his cellars after his death; and a little key was found hanging from his neck, which opened a secret writing case, wherein were found memoranda telling the number and weight of the whole hoard." He certainly had some income, for Domesday Book says that Stigand held the two Meons not only in the time of King Edward, but as long as he lived.[1] At his death he was buried honourably in the cathedral.

The death of Earl Waltheof on St. Giles' Hill, though a most interesting passage in the history of the city, can hardly be said to belong to the special records of the church;[2] and the same may be said of the ringing of the curfew, which, according to tradition, began at Winchester. It is still regularly rung out from the Guildhall.

In 1086 was presented to King William the famous document, known officially as *Liber de Wintonia* (probably because the presentation took place at Winchester), but known to history as Domesday Book. It is second only to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as the

[1] Ipse Rex tenet Menes; Stigandus Archiepiscopus tenuit T. R. E. [*i.e.* tempore Regis Edwardi] ad opus monachorum, et post quamdiu vixit habuit.

[2] See Mr. Freeman's striking narration of it, "Norman Conquest," vol. iv.

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authority for early English history. Its great value lies in the fact, that it is a survey of the whole nation at a given time, and it "is the first known statistical document of modern Europe, the first survey made since the days of the early Roman Empire."[1] The survey varies a good deal in the fulness of its information according to the idiosyncrasies of the several commissioners; but in every case it tells the name of the present holder of each place, and also the holder in the days of the Confessor. The information was given on oath in each parish before the commissioners by the parish priest, the reeves, and the principal inhabitants.

The information which it gives concerning church property in this diocese will be found in an Appendix.

Another source of information is furnished by the ancient charters, which give many parish boundaries and landmarks, but their value is unfortunately marred by the fact that some of them are spurious, and it is not always possible to distinguish the false from the true. It has been said, somewhat harshly, that the spurious charters were forged for fraudulent purposes, but the late Mr. J. R. Green told me that he held this to be an unfair judgment. It is just conceivable that when the Domesday commissioners asked for title deeds and none were forthcoming, the holders of land may have manufactured some. But probably a truer explanation traces the forged documents to the frequent fires in those days through the monasteries being built of wood. Genuine

[1] Freeman, v. 5.

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documents were burned, and were reproduced from memory, not to rob others, but to secure what was already in possession. It would have been impossible, said Mr. Green, to manufacture a claim to land out of no material. The reproducers did not always escape some anachronism, and so betrayed themselves.

But the memorial of the Conqueror with which Hampshire is so intimately connected is the New Forest. If we may believe the story which has been commonly received, the district so called was once well inhabited and contained thirty-six parish churches, and he drove out the inhabitants, pulled dwellings and churches down, and gave up the whole district to beasts of the chase. Of late years, however, this statement has been much called in question. Forest there certainly was before, and some contend that all that William did was to put the whole district under forest laws and out of cultivation. Mr. Freeman, ever eager after historical truth, has not only carefully examined all the evidence bearing upon it, but visited the place to carry on his inquiries, and has come to the conclusion that the old story has some basis of truth, but that there is much exaggeration as to the number of churches.[1]

The fortunes of "Edgar the Atheling" do not concern us, but his two sisters find an important place in our history; Margaret married Malcolm, King of Scotland, and Christina took the veil and presently became Abbess, first of Wilton, then of Romsey.

[1] "Norman Conquest," iv. 608–840, 858.

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Queen Margaret's husband, Malcolm, was killed in 1093, his faithful wife lying then at the point of death, and surviving him only a few hours. So good and noble was she, that her name from that day to this has been a favourite name with the Scottish people. She left two daughters, Edith and Mary, who were placed under the care of their aunt Christina, at Romsey, where we shall presently meet with them again.

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CHAPTER VI.

BISHOPS WALKELIN AND GIFFORD.

THE appointment of the first Norman bishop, Walkelin, is a memorable epoch in the history of the Winchester diocese. In 1079 he began to rebuild the cathedral from its foundation, and large portions of his stately work remain to this day. The visitor who looks up at the north and south transepts has before him a characteristic and most instructive specimen of the simplest and most severe style of Norman architecture. There are large portions of Walkelin's work besides, but these are the first to catch the eye. Without entering into minute details we can take a rapid survey of the general features of the great Minster. As usual it was cruciform, and at the intersection was a massive tower. The nave extended westwards forty feet further than at present and ended with two enormous towers. Its exterior, therefore, must have been very like that of the Abbaye aux Dames, at Caen, built by the Conqueror's wife.[1] The east end was a rounded apse flanked by two small towers from the middle of

[1] The student visiting Caen will find immense interest in comparing the contemporaneous styles of the French and English architecture.

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which a small lady chapel, also round-ended, projected eastwards. Of the eastern part of the cross nothing remains but the crypt and one column on the north side of the presbytery. The transepts remain in their beautiful simplicity, only a few additions have been made to the piers to strengthen them. The nave, walls and pillars of Walkelin, are also standing, but with this remarkable difference, that whereas on the south side eight bays are in the state in which he left them, the others were most ingeniously recased three hundred years later by William of Wykeham. The south wall also of the nave shows the work of Walkelin on the outside, while the north has been covered by that of Wykeham on both sides. We shall have something to say hereafter concerning the beautiful work of the latter. But even after all the alterations which have been made, the name of Walkelin may be said to be written over all of it. The looker-on from the railway station or St. Catherine's Hill has before him a huge mass all unbroken save by the low heavy tower at the intersection of the cross. No cathedral in Great Britain, perhaps, is so unpromising from the outside. The contrast with York, Canterbury, Lincoln, Gloucester, with their lofty central towers and rich details, or with Lichfield and its graceful spires is wonderful. But once entered, all disappointment is at an end as the visitor marks the glorious variety of rich tracery.

A story is told of a piece of sharp practice on the bishop's part during the building. In 1086 the king granted him as much timber as his carpenters could take away in four days and nights

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from Hanepinges[1] wood. The bishop thereupon got an immense body of men together, cut down the whole wood and carted it into the city. Next time the king rode that way he looked about him with amazement. "Am I fascinated?" he exclaimed, "surely I had a beautiful wood here close by." When he learned the truth he was in a violent rage, but the bishop putting on a shabby vestment made his way to the king's presence and threw himself at his feet beseeching leave to resign his bishopric, so he might retain the monarch's favour and continue to be his humble chaplain. The king was appeased, and restored the bishop to his favour with the gentle reproof, "I was too liberal in my grant, and you were too greedy in taking advantage." Another interesting memorial of Walkelin is to be seen at East Meon, which it will be remembered was one of the bishop's manors. He rebuilt the church, and made the place his residence, and the remains of his palace may be seen immediately opposite the church gate. It is now a farmhouse; the thick walls and heavy arches are worth a pilgrimage to see. The font in the church is exactly in form like that of the cathedral. His great Norman tower remains, but much of the church was rebuilt in the Perpendicular period. It was fairly restored about thirteen years ago, but most unfortunately the old Sanctus bell, which probably since Walkelin's days used to hang outside the tower, disappeared at that time.

[1] Now Hempage, on the road between Alresford and Winchester.

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The cathedral restoration was carried on with such vigour that in 1093 it was finished, and was consecrated on St. Swithun's day, in the presence of nearly all the bishops and abbots in England. The relics of St. Swithun were brought from their former resting-place with great pomp and placed in the new church. The new conventual offices for the monks were finished at the same time.

During the reign of William Rufus one of the most beautiful churches not only in the diocese but in the country was built, and this by one whose name is a disgrace to the Church of England. Between the confluence of the Avon and the Stour stood from very early times the little town of *Tweon-ea*, the island between the *twain* rivers. In Domesday it is called Twynham. At that time there was a college of secular canons here. The dean in the days of Rufus was his evil counsellor, Ralph Flambard,[1] whose character is depicted in the annals of Durham pp. 138 ff. It was through his influence, no doubt, that Rufus gave land in the county of Dorset to this church, and in 1099 he made Flambard Bishop of Durham. He found the stately cathedral of his see rising in its magnificence and he now began to build a church at Twynham in the same style. The beauty of this church became the cause of the abandonment of the old name of the town in favour of that by which it is still known, Christchurch. It has been much added to since, and some of the additions are very fine, but

[1] See Dean Church's "Life of St. Anselm," p. 160.

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the beautiful nave, aisles, and the exquisite north transept (pronounced by Sir Gilbert Scott to be one of the choicest relics of the Norman style) are the work of Flambard. The reredos, of the time of Edward III., though grievously mutilated, is still the finest in Hants, and, of old ones, probably the finest in England. Perhaps no parish church in England has richer material for the study of the architect and antiquary. The subsequent history of Christchurch Priory will come before us hereafter.

In 1098 William Rufus, being in Normandy and in lack of money, sent an order to Walkelin to supply him immediately with £200. The bishop, says the chronicler, "being unable to raise so large a sum without selling church valuables or else robbing the poor, prayed that he might be delivered from the miseries of life." Ten days afterwards he died and was buried in the nave of his cathedral. As Rufus had done on the death of Lanfranc so he did now on the death of Walkelin. He seized the revenues of the bishopric into his own hands, and the see was vacant for the rest of the king's life.

Two years later the Red King (August 2, 1100) was found dead in the New Forest, with an arrow in his heart, and was buried without religious ceremony in the cathedral next day. His bones lie in a low uninscribed tomb in the Lady Chapel, unlike those of his father, none of which remain under the stone which bears his name in the choir of St. Stephen's at Caen. There is consolation rather than irony in the reflection that while we know the resting-place of this reprobate king, we know not that of King Alfred or St. Louis.

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The words spoken by angels concerning the Lord have their significance concerning His faithful ones, "He is not here, He is risen." Historians do well, indeed, to point out such good deeds and instincts as they are able to discover in men like William Rufus.[1] But the noble deeds wrought by those others have gone on blessing men even till this day, and though "no man knoweth their sepulchre," their names and their works live evermore.

Among the spectators who beheld the Red King's unhonoured burial were some who had heard his reckless defiance of holy things and his boasts of his own sins, and now they shook their heads to think of him as buried before the altar of God. Seven years later Walkelin's great central tower fell in upon the grave. The monks found herein a manifest sign of the wrath of God. Others however, rather attributed the calamity to faulty construction, and received a confirmation of their opinion in the fact that the tower built by Bishop Simeon, Walkelin's brother, at Ely fell in like manner. The piers were strengthened to the condition in which we see them now, and the tower was rebuilt successfully.

On the day of the burial of Rufus, Henry Beauclerc was elected king at Winchester by the Witan, and his first act as king elect was to appoint WILLIAM GIFFORD to the vacant see of Winchester. He was a man of noble family, a relation of the Conqueror, and had been one of his chaplains. Like all the Norman bishops he was deeply versed in the secular business

[1] See Freeman, "Norman Conquest," v. 73, 74, and notes.

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of the court.[1] A few days later Henry recalled Anselm from exile. But both bishops soon became involved in trouble with the king. The great controversy between King Henry I. and Archbishop Anselm concerning the investiture, brings us into connexion with two important passages in this history. First comes that of the king's marriage. Henry, unlike his brother, was born on English ground. He boasted of this, and it was one great means by which he was enabled to secure his election so easily. With the same desire to be regarded with favour by the nation, he sought the hand of the eldest sister of Edgar Atheling. Indeed, it is said that he had done so some time before, for she was "very beautiful, and inherited her mother's talent, as well as her warm affections, sweetness, patience, and piety."[2] Her mind, moreover, was well cultivated. But a serious difficulty presented itself; the girl was in Romsey Abbey, and her aunt Christina violently asserted that she had made her profession as a nun, and could not, therefore, marry without mortal sin. Edith herself repudiated such an idea, and appealed to Anselm as the highest Church authority. She declared that her aunt forced her to wear the veil in order to preserve her from the brutality of the Normans, who would respect that even when they

[1] "The Norman bishops were able statesmen, often magnificent builders, who left behind them, some on the whole a good, and some on the whole a bad, memory in their dioceses; but none of them could lay any claim to the character of saints." —FREEMAN, v. 216.

[2] Palgrave, iv. 366.

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would not respect innocence; that she had always detested it, only wearing it when in Christina's presence, and only then because her aunt used to whip her if she caught her without it, that when she was by herself she would throw it on the ground and trample on it. A synod was held at Lambeth, then a manor belonging to the Bishop of Rochester; and Anselm, who presided, showed that his philosophy and knowledge of theological subtleties did not interfere with his good sense, nor his uncompromising opposition to the king at that moment with his consideration for him. Though no man could have had a higher respect for the monastic vow than he, he frankly accepted her story, and declined to put her to the ordeal which she challenged, or to worry her with questions. Having given his judgment, he appealed to the multitude, that if any man present should think her marriage, under the circumstances, unlawful, he should rise up and say so. The answer was a shout of assent, and the marriage was solemnized by Anselm on St. Martin's day, 1100. She took the name, however, of Matilda, apparently in deference to Norman prejudice against the, to them, unpronounceable name of Edith.

But a greater difficulty than this arose out of Henry's nomination to the see of Winchester. It was a popular one. It is said, that the clergy and people, on the day of the Red King's burial, pressed to have Gifford. In addition to this appointment, Henry had nominated his justiciar Robert as Bishop of Salisbury, and Reinhelm Bishop of Hereford; and he now called on Anselm to consecrate them. But

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the investiture dispute was at its height, and Anselm refused, except in the case of Gifford. Him he was willing to consecrate, inasmuch as Gifford had distinctly refused to receive the pastoral staff from the king's hands. The king then commanded Gerard, the Archbishop of York, to consecrate; and he, willing enough to mortify the pride of the rival see, agreed without hesitation. But the new Bishop of Hereford immediately sent back his ring and staff. To receive consecration from Gerard in such circumstances would be a curse and not a blessing, he said. The king, in anger, drove him from court. The consecration of the others was to take place in London. The church was full, and Gerard ready; but suddenly Gifford's conscience smote him so sorely that he interrupted the service, and declared as his brother of Hereford had done. Gerard's scheme for humbling Anselm had recoiled heavily upon himself, especially when the assembled multitude shouted approval of Gifford's conduct. Him also the king now banished from court and seized his goods. When the dispute was at length settled, Gifford came back and ruled the diocese for twenty-eight years. This long episcopate was marked by several important acts. He founded the monastery of St. Mary Overy (*i.e.* St. Mary "over the water") at Southwark, now called St. Saviour's, and also a priory of Black Canons at Taunton (1127). He also removed the New Minster or St. Grimbald's Abbey, at Winchester, from the Cathedral Yard to Hyde Meadow, where, through his influence with Henry I., he procured the building of a stately abbey. The

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reason for the removal seems to have been twofold. The nearness of the two minsters to each other is said to have caused interruptions of worship, the singing from one being heard in the other. And the waters which issued from the ditches of the new castle and passed down the city, settled round the abbey and made it unhealthy. The site of the transplanted monastery became the city burial-ground, and remained the *Campo Santo* of Winchester until the establishment of the cemetery in St. James's Fields. It is now one of the most beautiful cathedral yards in the world, with its magnificent alley of limes and elms.

The next work of Bishop Gifford which we have to record, was the initiation of one of the most important movements in the history of our Church and nation. The influence of the Church had been greatly lessened by the Conquest. The bishops appointed by the two Williams were none of them Englishmen. They were able statesmen, learned theologians, energetic builders; but they were not trusted by the people nor loved by their clergy. Not till the reign of Henry I. was an English see again occupied by an English bishop. The terrible anarchy which followed his death and produced misery, probably without parallel in our history, was calculated to destroy religious life in the country. But in the midst of it all a religious revival had begun, and had moved silently until a new spirit of devotion seemed suddenly to possess the whole nation, penetrating into palace and cottage, and actually restoring peace in place of

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bloodshed. This religious revival was the work of the Cistercians. This order, first established on the confines of Champagne and Burgundy, soon acquired the character of the most austere, and thereby attracted the attention of the great St. Bernard, who, with twenty followers joined it in 1113. From that day it became famous and powerful.

It was in 1129 that Bishop Gifford founded the first monastery of this order in England, at Waverley, near Farnham. The site stood within the king's hunting-grounds, which extended through the northern part of the great forest of Andred. Next year Fountains was founded in the north; three years later Tintern in the west; and in 1133 Quarr Abbey in the Isle of Wight. These names at once suggest what is the special characteristic of all the Cistercian foundations. The Benedictine monasteries were in their best days places of learning, and were all placed within or close beside the busy haunts of men. We think of "Benedictine editions" of great books, and speak gratefully of the laborious scribes and editors. But the Cistercians made their homes in woods and lonely places. They turned them, indeed, into scenes of beauty by their labours, and made the barren wilderness to smile. "Cistercian" suggests to us images of calm beauty, of graceful ruins in out of the way places. If population has gathered round them in some cases, it has always been the abbey which gathered it. No famous scholars are connected with Waverley, or Tintern, or Netley, or Fountains, or Melrose, or Beaulieu. But there was abundance of practical work. The granges

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and farms of the Cistercians were far in advance of anything which had hitherto been achieved in agriculture; their wool and corn were the best in the world; and their architecture, from first to last, was as simple as it was stately and beautiful.

The Cistercians were called *White Monks*, because their dress was a white frock or cassock, over which they wore a black cloak when they went outside their monastery. They wore no linen garment whatever, and neither ate fish, eggs, milk, nor cheese, except on extraordinary occasions. They lay on straw beds without putting off their cowls, rose at midnight and continued till daybreak in singing God's praises, then after prime and mass spent the day in labours, reading and prayer. Only one hour was given to conversation in the day, and that on spiritual matters. Perhaps a life of such stern self-repression may account for the absence of eminence among any of them as scholars and statesmen. The order, however, grew, until eventually it became the most powerful in England. Before the end of the century there were 120 Cistercian houses in Great Britain. They were all dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. The monks of Waverley and Tintern were brought from the Abbey of Aumône, in Normandy. Of these two sister abbeys, Tintern had one descendant,—Waverley,[1] eleven.

[1] The celebrated novel of this name owes its title to the Abbey. Sir Walter was poring over the monastic records, was pleased with the sound of this name, and adopted it. But the great master has another connexion with Waverley. The well-known orgie of King Richard and the Friar in "Ivanhoe," is borrowed from a ludicrous story of King Henry II. and the Abbot of Waverley.

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In 1107 Bishop Gifford built a spacious palace at Southwark, on a plot of ground belonging to the prior of Bermondsey, and this became the town residence of the Winchester prelates for five hundred and thirty years. It is said to have been one of the finest buildings in London, and a park of seventy acres was attached to it. (See Appendix.)

One episode of Gifford's episcopate is anything but a pleasant one to read of, but it illustrates a state of things which is characteristic not specially of that period but of many, jealousy between the bishop and his subordinates. The bishop let nine of the manors attached to "St. Swithun's Abbey" *i.e.* the cathedral, on lease.[1] The monks, thereupon, rose up in anger and vowed that such an act ought not to have been done by him, as their abbot, without their consent. The bishop retorted by declaring that they had been guilty of remissness in the matter of some dilapidations. Thereupon "as the monks knew not what to do, they turned the crucifixes upside down and went in procession, barefooted, and contrary to the course of the sun and to the custom of the church: to imply that as the bishop had, contrary to the canonical decrees, deprived those who served God of their necessary food, so they would serve the church in a way opposed to law and to the ecclesiastical decrees.[2] The quarrel lasted for two years, the king taking the

[1] It should be remembered that the bishop held some manors in right of his see, others as abbot of St. Swithun, in trust for his monks. Later on there were manors apparently held by the prior of St. Swithun's, over which the bishop had no control.

[2] "Annales Win.," A.D. 1122.

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part of the monks, but nearly all the nobility siding with the bishop.[1] But at length they were reconciled through the mediation of the king. "The bishop came unattended into the monastery; the monks, as the king enjoined them, prostrated themselves at his feet promising full satisfaction for whatever they had done amiss, and he fell down at theirs, for he was a man of blameless piety, the meekest of human beings. He complied with all their demands, and by his charter made over to the convent these and many other things, to be held by them for ever, under the bond of anathema."[2]

From that time, the same chronicle goes on to say, the bishop loved his monks, all and singular, as his own soul; insomuch that as often as he came to Winchester, he went down to the church-door and after offering up a prayer with groanings and sometimes with tears, visited the monks, whether they were assembled in the cloister or in the refectory and gave them his blessing. And as often as he could, he sought opportunity to be with them; so that he used to spend the noon with them in the refectory to take refreshment with them, and he would take the lowest seat with the novices. Finally he assumed the habit of a monk, and breathed out his spirit to God in the monks' infirmary.[3] He was buried close to his predecessor, Walkelin, and this was his epitaph :—

"Willelmus Giffard præsul jacet hic tumulatus,
Qui suscepit adhuc vivens habitum monachatûs."

[1] The common law of England at this day disallows any lease made by a bishop of the temporalities of his see without the consent of his dean and chapter.

[2] "Annales Win.," A.D. 1124. [3] *Ibid.*, A.D. 1128.

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CHAPTER VII.

BISHOP HENRY DE BLOIS.

THE first thirty-five years of the twelfth century formed, on the whole, a flourishing period of English history. Henry I., though stained with some personal vices, was a wise and successful ruler, popular at home and successful in foreign war. His popularity he owed in part to his facile eloquence and acuteness in management of men, it was increased by his marriage with a scion of the ancient line of kings, and by his giving a charter to his subjects and thereby curtailing the despotism which had marked the reigns of his father and brother.

His sister Adela, wife of the Count of Blois, had three sons: Theobald who succeeded his father as Count of Blois; Henry; and Stephen, Count of Mortain and Boulogne. On behalf of the first of these Henry undertook the severest of his French wars. The second he made abbot of Glastonbury, and, on the death of Gifford, Bishop of Winchester. But Stephen, brave and generous as a companion, was his favourite always. His first title, Mortain, was from Henry's gift to him; his second he gained by his marriage with the heiress of Boulogne. Little did King Henry guess that the two younger brothers whom he had

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so befriended would be the means of thrusting his daughter from the throne.

The episcopate of HENRY OF BLOIS is one of the most eventful, as well as the most splendid, in the annals of Winchester. It is true indeed that, like most of the bishops of his time, he was a baron rather than a prelate; very fitly is the palace that he built still called Farnham Castle. It was the way of bishops at that period. He built Wolvesey Castle, too, on the site of the old episcopal palace in Winchester, and other castles on his principal manors, namely, Taunton, Merdon, Waltham, and Downton. Taunton was one of the most extensive and valuable, amounting at the Conquest to £700 a year. Part of it was, however, divided by the Conqueror among his friends. For many centuries the town of Taunton was under the jurisdiction of portreeves and bailiffs, chosen at the courts of the Bishops of Winchester—in fact, they remained lords of the manor until 1822, when Bishop Tomline sold it. The present castle is part of the stately edifice of Bishop Henry. The present assize hall is the work of another Bishop of Winchester, Horne (1577).

Merdon was a village better known to us as Hursley. By the former name it is known in Domesday, but in 1291 the second had taken its place. The castle of Bishop Henry was in ruins in the fifteenth century, but the site remained in the possession of the Bishop of Winchester till the middle of the sixteenth century. It then for a while passed into the hands of Thomas Sternhold, one of the authors of the old version of the Psalms. He had been groom of the robes to

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Henry VIII. Such as they are, the ruins of the castle are still to be seen in Hursley Park, but we need not add that a more beautiful and holier sight meets the eye of the visitor to Hursley in John Keble's noble church of All Saints.

Nothing of the castle of Downton remains but the intrenchments and a conical mound. The advowson of the living belongs to Winchester College. The Bishop of Winchester is still lord of the manor.

The magnificent palace of Bishop's Waltham, afterwards greatly enlarged by Wykeham, was the principal residence of the bishops till it was destroyed by Waller in 1644; since then they have resided at Farnham. Bishop Morley turned the park into farms. The stately ruins are still interesting on the banks of the Hamble river. But, as we shall presently see, there were other deeds of Bishop Henry of a nobler character than the building of castles, and he was a real benefactor to the see over which he presided for forty-five years.

To the reign of Henry I. and episcopate of Henry de Blois (A.D. 1124) belongs the foundation of the most important of the ancient religious foundations of Southampton, the Priory House and Canons of St. Denys. He endowed it with certain lands, which as usual were increased by subsequent endowments. Thus Henry II. gave to it his four chapels within the borough of Hampton, St. Michael, St. Cross, St. Lawrence, and All Saints. The gifts, royal and others, small but numerous, go on down to the end of the fourteenth century.

In the frightful and unnatural contest between

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Stephen and Matilda, Bishop Henry took a foremost part, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other. We have, however, only to record the effects on his diocese.

It was on March 3, 1141, that Matilda, judging that Stephen's ill-judged actions had given her her opportunity, came across the sea towards Winchester. The bishop went out upon Magdalen Hill to meet her. A solemn procession of nobles, bishops, abbots, citizens, monks, and even nuns attended him. Dismounting from her horse, she was conducted by her cousin of Winchester on her right, and the Bishop of St. David's on her left, up the High Street to the cathedral amid loud acclamations. There she promised to be guided entirely by him in all Church matters, and he in return declared that he would regard her as his sovereign.[1] But there were rocks ahead. There was as yet no precedent for a female sovereign, and he shrank from an actual coronation. But in his character of Papal legate he addressed an assembled synod, enlarged on the high character of the late King Henry, and on the happiness which they had enjoyed under his peaceful reign, went on to declare that an oath had been taken to Matilda which was still binding, although, in consequence of her not coming to England, Stephen had been allowed to reign in her stead. He had been so allowed on swearing to defend the Church and preserve peace, and all these oaths he had broken. It belonged chiefly to the clergy of England to elect and consecrate kings, and, therefore, he now called on

[1] Will. Malmes., Gervase. At the synod that followed Malmesbury was present, probably as his abbot's secretary.

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the synod to elect Matilda, "the daughter of the peaceful king, of the glorious king, of the rich king, of the good, and, in our time, unmatched king," and to promise her fealty and obedience. Not a voice was raised in opposition.

The audacity of the claims thus put forward by the bishop in behalf of his order would have been sufficient at most times to have defeated his purpose, yet the coronation of Matilda might have been carried out and her throne established under the pressure of Stephen's bad rule, had not the empress ruined her own cause by her intolerable haughtiness. More reckless and headstrong than Rehoboam, since he at all events was in possession when he flouted the men of Israel, she bearded and insulted the people whom she was asking to make her their ruler.

Bishop Henry once more changed sides and became the energetic partisan of his brother, "the king (so he said in a synod at Westminster) who had been anointed by the will of the people and by the consent of the Apostolic see." He fortified his castle of Wolvesey in order to stand a siege. It soon began under the guidance of Matilda's brother and uncle, Robert of Gloucester and the King of Scotland. Thereupon the partisans of King Stephen plucked up courage, and a large body of them, mostly Londoners, marched to the relief of the besieged prelate, and the besiegers were forced to stand on their defence. For seven weeks warfare was thus carried on in the very heart of the city, a calamity almost unparalleled in the history of other cities. The empress held the castle and the north of the

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High Street, where the houses of the citizens in general stood; the king's party held Wolvesey and the precincts of the cathedral. The followers of the bishop thereupon resorted to a cruel expedient. They threw fireballs upon the houses held by their opponents, the effect of which was to burn down the magnificent new minster at Hyde, removed thither only in the preceding reign, the royal palace, the abbey of St. Mary, twenty churches, and a great number of houses in the most populous part of the city. Not only so; but, in order to prevent the empress from receiving provisions from the western counties, whilst they themselves were plentifully supplied from the east, they carried their ravages into the country, and burnt down the royal abbey of Wherwell. How far the bishop himself was responsible for these deeds we cannot tell. Gervase the chronicler expressly ascribes the chief guilt to him; not so William of Malmesbury, who lays it to Stephen's general, William of Ypres, and to "the bishop's followers." The bishop himself had retired from the city in the middle of the siege, and was apparently at Waltham.

"The great cross of Hyde Abbey" (adds the Winton annalist) "was stripped of its outward covering, and within it were found upwards of 500 marks of silver and 30 marks of gold." The cause of the empress grew weaker every day, until at length her brave champion, Robert of Gloucester, having fallen into his last sickness, the empress withdrew to the Continent. It was in great measure owing to the wise counsels of Bishop Henry that the treaty of Wallingford brought a peaceable solution.

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One act of Bishop Henry's during the midst of this horrible war deserves special mention. He held a synod at Winchester under his legatine authority, at which it was resolved, in order somewhat to assuage the miseries of the war, that ploughs should have the same privilege of sanctuary with churches; and a sentence of excommunication was pronounced by the whole assembly, with the ceremony of lighted torches in their hands, against all who should attack or injure any person engaged in agriculture.[1]

It was this bishop who formed the scheme of raising Winchester to primatial rank. Though even up to the end of the reign of Henry I. the ancient city may be called the metropolis of the country, the power of London was hastening to supremacy, and in the reign of Stephen that supreme power was manifested. But Henry of Blois determined to do his best to preserve the primacy in other fashion. He appealed to the Pope to make Winchester an archbishopric, the metropolitical see of Wessex. He even proposed that Hyde should be raised to a bishopric, and that Chichester, and the western sees, Salisbury, Hereford, Worcester, Exeter, Wells, should be made subject to him. "This he did on account of the frequent disputes which arose between himself and the Archbishop of Canterbury; for the one deemed himself superior because he was archbishop, the other because he was legate."[2] The prayer was rejected by the Pope (Innocent II.), and when he died (1143) one alleged difficulty disap-

[1] Matt. Paris, A.D. 1142.

[2] "Annal. Wint.," A.D. 1143.

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peared, for Henry ceased to be legate, and the honour was conferred on Archbishop Theobald, who under the guidance of Becket speedily showed that he knew how to use it. But Bishop Henry remained always a man of great personal influence. When William, Archbishop of York, was driven from his see in 1147, it was to the Bishop of Winchester, whom he had ordained and consecrated, that he fled. And the bishop received him dutifully and respectfully. He spent his time with the monks, "prizing their holiness of life as much as that of angels," until, seven years afterwards, Bishop Henry was able to procure his restoration.[1] The monks of Hyde went to Rome in 1147, to complain not only of their own Abbot, Hugh de Lens, touching certain controversies which had been agitated among them, but against the bishop, who, as they alleged, had pillaged their church. Their cause was warmly taken up by Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, but, "having presented many gifts and promised many more," the bishop made his peace with the Church, and returned armed with full authority.

We come now to a glorious work of Bishop Henry, which flourishes to this day, and which has indeed within the last few years been restored, after many years of misrule and mismanagement, to a condition not unworthy of the intentions of its princely founder.

Second to no institution in the ancient city of Winchester, not even to the glorious cathedral itself, in fascinating interest, is the beautiful hospital of St.

[1] He was soon afterwards poisoned with his own chalice, by the hand, as it was reported, of his archdeacon.

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Cross. A learned architect and historian of our own time writes thus enthusiastically and eloquently: "Not to be compared in splendour or antiquity to the mighty pile of the cathedral, the hospital of St. Cross has that peculiar attraction which belongs to whatever is first of its own class. The cathedral, the college, the royal and episcopal palace may be found elsewhere—individually at least—in equal beauty; but nowhere, to the best of my knowledge, does there exist any foundation of a similar nature, which can for a moment compare with the architectural beauty, the historical association, or the calm and holy air pervading the whole of this truly venerable establishment. Whether, among the numerous similar societies which fell beneath that spirit of sacrilegious rapacity which could not spare the very resting-places of aged poverty, any existed which at all approached St. Cross in wealth and splendour, I know not; certainly I have not heard of any still remaining: it stands, I should suppose, incomparable among its own class—the 'roof and crown' of such foundations. No one can pass its threshold without feeling himself landed as it were in another age; the ancient features of the building, the noble gateway, the quadrangle, the common refectory, the cloister, and, rising above all, the lofty and massive pile of the venerable church, the uniform garb and reverend mien of the aged brethren, the common provision for their declining years, the dole at the gate-house—all lead back our thoughts to days when men gave their best to God's honour, and looked on what was done to His poor as done to Himself, and were as lavish

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of architectural beauty on what modern habits might deem a receptacle for beggars as on the noblest of royal palaces. It seems a place where no worldly thought, no pride, or passion, or irreverence could enter; a spot, where, as a modern writer has beautifully expressed it, a good man, might he make his choice, would wish to die."[1]

It would be impossible to give any adequate account of the architecture of the noble church, and impertinent to discuss the striking character of the rich decoration which has been laid upon the interior by another celebrated living architect. Upon this opinions are sure to differ, meanwhile we will in simplest outline describe the details. The church was founded in 1136. As it progressed the art of architecture was progressing too, and, as was almost invariably the case, the prevalent style of the day was followed rather than obedience to uniformity. Norman architecture passed into Pointed, and St. Cross furnishes a fine illustration of the transition. The east end is Early Norman, the first bay of the nave (there are three) is Late Norman, the last is pure Early English, the west window is a beautiful specimen of the Decorated style, the date assigned to it being 1292. Of the work of Cardinal Beaufort we shall speak hereafter. The removal of whitewash about thirty years ago revealed the traces of rich colouring on the walls, and hence, when the church was restored, this colouring was restored with it, with an effect which will probably startle any one

[1] "Proceedings of the Archæological Institute, Winchester, 1845."

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beholding it for the first time, though he may be ready afterwards to admire it.

Such is the church of the Holy Cross, founded by Bishop Henry "for the health of his own soul, and the souls of his predecessors, and those of the Kings of England." The founder goes on to arrange that thirteen poor men, so decayed and past their strength that they cannot maintain themselves without charitable assistance, shall abide continually in the hospital, and be provided with proper clothing and beds suitable to their infirmities; and shall have an allowance daily of good wheat bread, good beer, three messes each for dinner, and one for supper. If any one shall be so happy as to recover his health and strength, he is to be respectfully discharged, and another admitted to his place. Besides these thirteen poor, a hundred other poor, of modest behaviour and the most indigent that can be found, shall be received daily at dinner time, and shall have each a loaf of coarser bread, one mess, and a proper allowance of beer, with leave to carry away with them whatever remains of their meat and drink after dinner. Other charities were to be distributed to the poor in general, as the revenues of the hospital were able to bear; the whole of which were to be applied to such uses. In order to furnish the endowment, certain considerable rectories in the gift of the bishop were made over to the hospital. They were Fareham, Nursling, Millbrook, Twyford, Hinton, Alverstoke, Exton, Hurtsbourne Priors, Whitchurch, Chilbolton, Woodhay, Alton (in Wilts), Witney (Oxfordshire), Stockton (Wilts), Ovington. To these afterwards were added

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Upham, Waltham, Boghurst, and Farley. But from the beginning it came to be understood that most of these were merely charged annual pensions for the support of the hospital, and not the whole incomes. The exceptions were Hurstbourne, Whitchurch, Fareham, and Twyford.

An inquisition instituted by William of Wykeham into the revenues of the hospital showed them to be over £400 a year. These revenues were free from all taxes, both to the king and the Pope, as being wholly appropriated to the poor, except £7. 4s. 6d. a year, which was the valuation of the master's portion.

The same inquisition brought out that the particular allowances to the poor were as follows:—Each of the thirteen brethren had daily one loaf of good wheaten bread of 5 marks' weight (2 lb. 10 oz.); 1½ gallon of good small beer; a sufficient quantity of pottage; three messes at dinner, one called *Mortrell*, made of milk and wastell bread,[1] one mess of flesh or fish, and one portion which varied with the day, and one mess for supper. The whole was valued at 3d. a day. On six holidays in the year they had white bread, and all in like quantities; and one of their messes was roast meat; and on Founder's Day they had extra ale. The hundred poor were fed in a place called *Hundred-men's-hall*; of which one

[1] Wastell bread, bread of a better sort. Probably akin to the French *gateau*. Chaucer's prioress, who was a very delicate lady, fed her lap-dogs with it,—

"Of smalè houndes had she that she fed
With rosted flesch, and milk, and wastel bred."

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hundred poor were always thirteen of the poorer scholars of the great grammar-school of Winchester, sent by the schoolmaster. On Founder's Day (August 9) three hundred poor were received. There were, besides, maintained in the hospital a steward, with his clerk; two servants, with two horses; a porter; nine servants; two teams, of six horses each, and three carters.

"The founder, in the year 1157,[1] made the master and brethren of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem guardians and administrators of the hospital of St. Cross, saving to the Bishop of Winchester his canonical jurisdiction. A dispute arose between Bishop Henry's successor and the Hospitallers, and King Henry II. had to mediate between them, and appeals were made to Rome. After many changes from side to side, an amicable arrangement was come to at last; the Hospitallers ceded the management to the bishop, who, in return, gave them the impropriation of Merdon and Hinton for the payment of 53 marks a year, and procured them a discharge from the duty of furnishing 10 marks, two wax-candles, and 10 lb. of wax to the monks of St. Swithun. Further, as it appeared that the revenues of the hospital were sufficient for the maintenance of many more poor, and ought not to be alienated to other uses, it was ordered that, besides those named by the founder, one hundred additional poor should be fed every day. This arrangement is dated April 10,

[1] Visitors to the place will remember the picturesque costume of the old bedesmen; a long black gown, with a silver cross potent. This was derived from the Hospitallers.

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1185, and was signed at Dover in the presence of the king. However, this new arrangement was dropped before long, though there appears to be no record of its discontinuance. It had ceased in William of Wykeham's time, and, instead of it, there had been established four priests, thirteen secular clerks, and seven choristers, who were maintained at the hospital for the performance of divine service in the church. The four priests dined at the master's table, and had a stipend of 13s. 4d.; the thirteen clerks had each a loaf of wheat bread a day of 2½ lb., 3 quarts of beer; and one mess of flesh or fish of the brethren was allotted to two, of the value of 10d. a week; the choristers had each a loaf of common bread, and one mess, or fragments from the master's table, and free education in the school."

We have still other works of this great prelate to mention. The beautiful abbey church of Romsey probably exhibits much of his work. It is one of the largest and finest churches in the kingdom, cruciform, and with one remarkable feature, rare in England, though not so on the Continent—namely, the insertion of two small chapels in the eastern sides of the transepts. There are portions of the church in the Decorated style, perhaps of the time of Edward II., but the main features are, in all probability, the work of Henry de Blois. The church is now, of course, parochial, and has been altered much to suit its requirements, but there is no difficulty in distinguishing what was the original intention of it. Two doors at the western ends of the north and south aisles admitted, the former the laity, the latter the nuns, to public

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worship. Near the outside of the south of the church are still the remains of the old monastic buildings, turned into dwelling-houses, and until lately might be seen attached to the abbey walls portions of the cloister which formed a covered way from the monastery to the church. To the period before us belongs the most celebrated abbess that the abbey ever had —Mary, the only daughter of King Stephen. The foreign features which we have noticed may possibly be attributed to her residence abroad, causing her to bring over foreign artists and workmen. Some figures and carvings are thought to indicate allusions to Robert of Gloucester, who certainly loved building, and not improbably was a benefactor to this church. Mary presided over the abbey until the death of her only surviving brother, William, Count of Toulouse, in 1160. Matthew, Count of Flanders, then wooed her, urged to do so by Henry II. The Archbishop of Canterbury indignantly protested against the scandal, but in vain; the monastic vows were thrown aside, and the sacrilegious couple were excommunicated, and efforts were made by the Pope and others to drive her from her heritage of Boulogne. These attempts also failed, but in 1170 she voluntarily separated from her husband and retired to a monastery at Montreuil, where she died ten or twelve years later. Her two daughters were afterwards legitimatised by the Church. The eldest daughter gave the title of Earl of Boulogne to no less than four husbands whom she successively married.

Bishop Henry also founded a Benedictine nunnery at Ivinghoe, and a college for four priests at Marwell,

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and was a liberal donor to the convent at Taunton which his predecessor had founded. Among his improvements of his cathedral we note that he collected the remains of the illustrious persons who had been buried there into mortuary chests which were disposed round the sanctuary. By a singular and generous expedient he provided for seemly worship in the poor parishes of the diocese. It was decreed at a synod over which he presided that chalices of tin were not allowable, nothing but gold or silver. He took advantage of this next time the clergy were taxed, ordering that each rector of a parish should contribute a silver chalice of a weight prescribed. These being brought in, he ordered them to be returned to the several parishes, and there to be made use of, while he undertook to pay the cost to the State out of his own purse.

The accession of Henry II. made a great change in the life of Henry of Blois. Up to that time his influence, on the whole, had been paramount in the councils of the nation. But it was so no longer. In fact, on King Henry's accession to the throne, Bishop Henry, under apprehensions for his person and property, fled the country with such money as he could lay hands on. The king, provoked at this conduct, for which perhaps there was no reason, seized and dismantled his three castles of Wolvesey, Merdon, and Waltham.[1] However, they soon came to a better understanding. The bishop returned, and the two namesakes and cousins remained always afterwards

[1] So Matt. Paris, *sub anno* 1155. Ralph de Diceto says he did so to the whole six of the bishop's castles.

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on good terms. At first the new king's chief counseller and helper was Archbishop Theobald, and between them they expelled the Flemish marauders, demolished the new castles, and re-established the courts of justice. But Theobald was growing aged, and therefore threw his mantle upon his confidential secretary, Thomas Becket, who was made chancellor, and whom the king seemed unable to make enough of. He loaded him with favours, and, on Theobald's death, forced the monks of Canterbury to elect him to the archbishopric. He was consecrated by Bishop Henry of Winchester, in the presence of fourteen other bishops, on Whitsun Day, 1162.

Henry II. spent a good deal of time at Winchester. Once it is expressly mentioned that, feeling unwell, he came[1] to Winchester "for the sake of the air."[1] He rebuilt the royal palace which had been destroyed in the civil wars, whither he summoned his council to deliberate on his proposed invasion of Ireland. The citizens and clergy, excited by his vigorous example, vied with each other in repairing ecclesiastical dilapidations. They rebuilt Hyde Abbey and the ruined churches. The king granted valuable charters to the city, by one of which he raised its chief magistrate to a rank above all other municipal officers, for he ordained that Winchester should be governed by a mayor, with a subordinate bailiff, a privilege which was only subsequently granted to London. His eldest daughter was married here to Henry, Duke of Saxony, and her first child was born in the palace, and was

[1] Brompton's Chronicle.

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christened William. From him descended the present house of Brunswick. At Winchester, King Henry received Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, in 1185, and hither the masters of the Templars and Hospitallers came to present him with the keys of the holy sepulchre, and to entreat him, as the most powerful sovereign in Christendom, to undertake a crusade. He prudently enough declined, but there was a solemn procession to the cathedral, in which not only the king, the patriarch, and the warriors took part, but all the bishops and abbots of the kingdom.[1] It was also nearly during this visit, and under the advice of Heraclius, that the amicable arrangement between the bishop and the Hospitallers about St. Cross was arrived at.

Bishop Henry's episcopal life undoubtedly lies open to the charge of some inconsistencies. One satirist calls him "a clerical weathercock." Yet it must be admitted that, whatever were his errors of judgment, he always strove for peace, and that his changes of side were not begotten out of selfishness. In the great controversy between the king and Becket, he took Becket's side throughout. His public life, apart from questions about the throne, was uniformly zealous on behalf of the Church. In his old age he lived on one meal a day, and devoted his money entirely to charity. Becoming blind, he never lost his cheerfulness, and always showed a keen interest in what was going on. The Winchester annalist thus records his death :—

"Ann. Winton.," *sub anno* 1185.

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"A.D. 1171, Henry, Bishop of Winchester, than whom never was man more chaste and prudent, more compassionate, or more earnest in transacting ecclesiastical matters or in beautifying churches, departed to the Lord, whom, with his whole heart, he had loved, and whose ministers, monks, and all other religious he had honoured as the Lord Himself. May his soul repose in the bosom of Abraham."

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CHAPTER VIII.

THE DAYS OF THE EARLY PLANTAGENETS.

FOR two years after the death of Bishop Henry, King Henry II., following the evil precedent of some of his predecessors, and in violation of his solemn engagement, kept the see vacant and took the revenues. It was not until May, 1173, that he allowed the monks to choose a new bishop, who was not consecrated, nor even ordained priest, until October, 1174. His name was RICHARD TOCLIVE, Archdeacon of Poictiers, a native of Winchester. He had been an ardent opponent of Archbishop Becket, and, indeed, had incurred the sentence of excommunication.[1] But the murder of the great prelate had brought about the peace which he could not compass in his lifetime, and Bishop Toclive's episcopate was marked by zeal and wisdom. Two years after his consecra-

[1] After Becket's canonisation Bishop Toclive showed his penitence by causing all newly-erected churches in his diocese to be dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury. The visitor to Portsmouth should not fail to see one of these churches, St. Thomas's, the mother church of the town. The chancel is one of the most beautiful specimens of that period in England. The nave was pulled down in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and rebuilt in the ugly style of that period, with enormous oaken galleries, and there is a curious monument glorifying the Vandalism.

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tion he was appointed Justiciar of Normandy, and in the Parliament held at Windsor in 1179 was constituted one of the itinerant justices for Hants, Wilts, Gloucester, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall, Berks, and Oxon. Afterwards, King Henry made him Chief Justice of England. He did something to improve his predecessor's foundation at St. Cross; but he also founded another on the eastern side of the city, for the cure of the sick and support of the infirm, which he dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene. The name of the patron saint of penitents leads Bishop Milner to conjecture that the bishop desired to expiate his sin in the matter of Becket, the more especially as there was a picture of the martyrdom visible on the ruined walls ten years before he published his book. Its subsequent history may be given at once. The indefatigable Wykeham found abuses here as at St. Cross, and took pains to redress them. In the time of Cardinal Beaufort, the master was Waynflete, afterwards bishop, and when the latter founded his magnificent college at Oxford he took the name for it from his little charge at Winchester. The hospital escaped suppression in the days of Henry VIII., but was much plundered in the following reign. In the reign of Charles I. the royal troops that were stationed at Winchester did much injury to the buildings, but the finishing stroke was given under Charles II., when the brethren had to resign it that it might be turned into a place of confinement for the Dutch prisoners. After that no friend came forward to restore it, and it became a ruin. In 1788 the master obtained a commission

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to pull it down, and the materials were sold to certain builders. The Norman doorway now ornaments the Roman Catholic Chapel[1] in St. Peter's Street. Close by the hospital used to be held, until the last few years, Magdalen Hill Fair, the most considerable of all the Winchester fairs. It was established by Edward III., and its chief article of commerce was originally wool. A curious relic of this survived as long as the fair lasted. The chief of the booths, in place of any flag or other sign, had a sheepskin nailed upon a tall pole.

During the episcopate of Toclive, Richard de Gravenell gave the manor of Tooting and the advowson of the church to the priory of St. Mary Overy.

Bishop Toclive died in 1189, and the same year King Henry died, in bitterness of spirit, at Chinon. His son Richard, having buried him at Fontevraud, hastened to Winchester and seized his father's treasure, which is said (but the statement is almost incredible) to have amounted to £900,000 in gold and silver, besides rich vessels, jewels, and precious stones. A quarrel arose at his coronation between the rival cities, London and Winchester. It was an established rule of a coronation that the principal nobility should attend and perform certain services. The chief magistrates of Winchester and London had been admitted to two important offices, namely, that of wine butler and that of clerk of the kitchen. But which should hold which? It seems that hitherto Winchester had held the former (which involved

[1] There are pictures of the old building in "Vet. Mon.," vol. iii.

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the perquisite of the gold cup and waiter, with which the king had been served); but now London obtained the preference, through bribes, as Winchester declared. To put the Winchester folk in good humour, the king gave them an additional charter, enlarging their ancient privileges.

This was the period at which England, for the first and last time, was moved heart and soul by the crusading enthusiasm. Ninety-three years had passed since Peter the Hermit preached the first crusade and Pope Urban II. set it on foot. That expedition was the sole successful one; the Crusaders took Jerusalem, and established a Christian kingdom there, which became merely titular when the holy city was retaken by the Mahomedans in 1187; a second crusade, preached by St. Bernard, and led by Louis VII. of France and Conrad III. of Germany, having altogether come to nought. Into the third, Richard of England threw himself with the enthusiasm which characterised him, and immediately after his coronation he started for the Holy Land. He was a foreigner altogether in his ideas, yet was regarded, not wrongly, as the representative of England in the East, for he had large English support; two successive archbishops not only preached the Cross, but actually set sail for the Holy Land. A bad time ensued for England. The supreme power rested in the hands of William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, who was head both of Church and State, being Papal Legate and Justiciar, and his exactions and his Norman scorn of the English kindled fierce anger, which found its head in John. The country was overrun with daring outlaws,

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the chief of whom was the famous Robin o' th' Wood, and London was convulsed by the sedition of William Longbeard. Winchester, as the chronicle tells, did not escape the prevailing lawlessness, for in 1188 a number of armed men, instigated by some noblemen, dragged out the clergy whilst engaged in divine service. But on the whole Winchester was increasing in wealth and splendour, and this was mainly owing to the wisdom of the bishop, GODFREY DE LUCY. His father, Richard de Lucy, was Chief Justice of England, and had founded the priory of Lesnes in Kent. Godfrey had been Dean of St. Martin's, London, and was consecrated bishop, with Hubert Fitzwalter to Salisbury, in Westminster Abbey, October 22, 1189. One of his first works was most wise and beneficent. It was to restore the navigation of the Itchen, not only from Southampton to Winchester, but also to the very head of the river. At Alresford, close to which lay his manor of Bishop's Sutton, he raised a great mole by which he gathered the waters into a lake, draining thereby a vast quantity of marshy land as well as furnishing a reservoir to supply the navigation. This great work was not finished until the beginning of the reign of King John, from whom the bishop obtained for himself and his successors the royalty of the said river, with the right of collecting certain dues on the navigation. Alresford Pond originally covered 200 acres, but is now not more than 60 acres.[1]

During Godfrey's episcopate, a layman founded a priory for the Augustinian Friars ("Black Canons") at

[1] Alresford was at this time the third town in Hampshire, being only exceeded by Winchester and Southampton.

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Send, near Albury. The bishop endowed it, hence in the episcopal register he is miscalled its founder. This order was established by Pope Alexander II. in 1061, and first came to England in the reign of Henry I.

One step which he took proved unfortunate. Before the king went to the Crusade, Godfrey bought of him for the cathedral the manors of Wargrave and West Meon, both of which had originally belonged to the see, but had been alienated by the Conqueror. He also bought the custody of the royal castle, with the dignity and rights of "Earl of Winchester." When Richard returned, after his deliverance from the Duke of Austria, one of the first things he did was to repossess himself of both manors and castle, and to declare the title void, on the ground that the royal demesnes could not be alienated. But it was quite characteristic of him that he did not return the money. Having been made a captive, he declared that he could hardly consider himself a king without the ceremony of a new coronation, and accordingly the ceremony took place, not, as before, at Westminster, but in Winchester Cathedral. The following narrative is from Roger de Hoveden:—

"On the 14th day of April, in the year 1194, Richard left Woodstock, and arrived at Freemantle; the next day he came to the castle of Winchester, which he left on the 16th after dinner, and retired to the Priory of St. Swithun [*i.e.*, the monastery of the cathedral church]. Here he slept that night, and bathed himself, ordering, at the same time, his brother Geoffroy, who was Archbishop of York, not to have his cross carried before him at the ceremony which

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was to take place the next day, for fear of a dispute between him and the Archbishop of Canterbury on the subject.[1] His brother, in consequence, refused to be present at all. Next day, being the octave of Easter Day, there assembled together Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury; John, Archbishop of Dublin; Hugh, Bishop of Durham; Richard, Bishop of London, Gilbert, Bishop of Rochester; William, Bishop of Ely; Sefrid, Bishop of Chichester; Henry, Bishop of Exeter, William, Bishop of Hereford; with the Bishops of Worcester, Bangor, and St. David's, besides many abbots, clergymen, and a great multitude of people.[2] Then King Richard, being clothed in his royal robes, with the crown upon his head, holding in his right hand a royal sceptre, which terminated in a cross, and in his left hand a golden wand, with a figure of a dove at the top of it, came forth from his apartments in the Priory, being conducted on the right hand by his chancellor, the Bishop of Ely, and on the left by the Bishop of London. Before the king there marched in solemn procession the above-mentioned archbishops and other prelates, with the abbots, monks, and clergy; and after him came in due order the earls, barons, military officers, and a great number of other lay persons of distinction. The silken canopy was held upon four lances over the king by four earls,

[1] Because it was not lawful for him to appear in public within the province of Canterbury with the insignia of metropolitical authority.

[2] It will be observed that the Bishop of Winchester was absent, though it was his own cathedral. We may assume that it was because of his anger at the king's robbery of him.

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namely, by Roger Bigot, Earl of Norfolk, William, Earl of the Isle of Wight, and the Earls of Salisbury and Ferrers; and the three swords of state, which were kept in the Royal Treasury, were carried, the first by William, King of Scotland, the second by Hamelin, the Earl of Warren, and the third by Ranulph, Earl of Chester. The Scottish monarch walked in the middle, having Hamelin on his right hand and Ranulph on his left. The king, being thus conducted into the cathedral and up to the high altar, there fell upon his knees and devoutly received the archbishop's solemn benediction. He was then led to the throne which was prepared for him on the south side of the choir. In the meantime, the dowager-queen, Eleanor, with the ladies her attendants, stood on the north side, directly opposite to him. The Archbishop of Canterbury celebrated mass, in the course of which the king was conducted in due state by his two assistants, the aforesaid bishops, to make his offering, and was brought back in the same order. When mass was finished, the king was led back again to his apartments with the solemnities that have been described above. He then laid aside his ponderous robes and crown, and put on other robes and a crown that were much lighter, and so proceeded to dinner, which was served in the refectory of the monks. The archbishops and prelates, as likewise the King of Scotland and the lay earls and barons, had the honour of sitting at table with him, and every other person who officiated at the ceremony, being set in his proper rank and place, partook of the royal entertainment."

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Having begun his residence at Winchester by robbing the bishop, the king followed up that act by summoning several nobles before him and fining them for having supported his brother John's rebellion. One of the most loyal citizens of Winchester dying intestate and very rich, Richard also seized his property, and that of the Bishop of Ely, who had also died intestate. These deeds accomplished, the king moved to Waltham, thence to Portsmouth, whence he embarked for the Continent, and never saw England more.

In the spring of 1202, while John was pursuing in Normandy his evil designs against the hapless Prince Arthur, Bishop Godfrey instituted a confraternity for the renovation of his cathedral. They were to exist "for five years and no longer," and to employ themselves in collecting alms. And the result was the present beautiful east end of the cathedral, beginning from the back of the apse, all excepting the Lady Chapel at the extreme end, which belongs to the fifteenth century. The bishop first erected the outside wall, without disturbing the Norman work existing; when this work was finished, the circular aisle was removed, and the piers and vault of the new work substituted. The decorated pillars of the presbytery were put up in the Decorated period, probably about 1320. The student of architecture will, therefore, find Bishop Godfrey's work deeply interesting, not only because it is beautiful in itself, but because its date is so accurately known.

Another noble architectural work of the same date belonged not to the bishop, but to the

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reprobate king. Early in his reign, while presiding over a Parliament at Lincoln, John cursed the whole Cistercian order as only a Plantagenet could, and vowed that he would trample every abbot of it under his horse's hoofs. But the following night, doubtless after one of his heavy banquets, he dreamed that he was heavily scourged by the monks, woke in a horrible fright, and vowed to make amends. The result was the foundation of Beaulieu Abbey, by Southampton Water. As usual with the Cistercians, the chosen site was one of natural loveliness, removed in the forest from the haunts of men; and there are few more beautiful spots in England than the site of this ruined abbey, "the abbey of the beautiful spot" (Abbatia de Bello Loco). On one side is a sheet of fresh water, on the other a tidal river flowing through trees. On the north are some gentle hills, and upon them lay the monastic vineyards.

John's first gift was a hundred marks. The monastery was to have thirty members. He went on to enrich it from time to time with goodly manors,—Great and Little Farendon, Schulton, Inglesham, Langeford,—and bestowed all manner of privileges and exemptions upon it. It was his favourite child, and he seemed to indemnify himself for many an irreligious deed by lavishing benefits upon Beaulieu. Thus there is a grant of June, 1204, of corn to the value of 30 marks; July, a gold chalice; September, 23 marks and tenpence; October, 100 marks; December, one hundred cows and ten bulls for the dairy; and in the following January, twenty cows and

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two bulls. In the following August he entreated the Cistercian abbots throughout his dominions to give what help they could towards his new abbey, and at the same time he gave the monks 57 marks and a large grant of wheat. In January following he sent them a tun of wine. In March of the same year he sends the abbot 60 marks for his expenses in going to the court of Rome for him. In 1207, he gave them three teams, oxen, and corn. In 1208, whilst at Waverley, he issued an order by which he restored to the monks throughout England the lands which had been seized during the interdict. The troubles of the kingdom caused the building work to languish, but John, from time to time, laid upon the wardens the special charge not to stay their hands for lack of money. Three times, at least, the Abbot of Beaulieu was his representative at foreign courts. Here, it is said (though it is almost certainly incorrect), his mother, Eleanor, was buried, in 1204. A skeleton found in a stone coffin a few years ago near the high altar has been supposed to be hers.[1]

The abbey flourished in succeeding years. Thus, Henry III. ordered that all profits derived from New Forest ponies for three years should be given to the abbot for the benefit of his father's soul. A year or two afterwards the Abbot of Beaulieu was consecrated Bishop of Carlisle. Fresh manors from time to time fell in by bequest. The church was consecrated with great pomp, June 17, 1246, by the bishop

[1] The matrix of the brass which covered it lies in the guest-chamber. It must have been very beautiful. There is a crown or coronet at the top.

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of the diocese, William de Rayleigh, the abbot, spending 500 marks on festivity. In 1277 the abbot got into trouble for poaching. He made three enclosures with "engines," into which he drove the forest deer for the engines to catch. He was fined 40 marks. And in 1422 the monks were called to account for receiving the legacy of East Hamelford Manor in the Isle of Wight without any licence from the king to hold it in mortmain. Several persons notable in history took sanctuary here,—Perkin Warbeck, Margaret of Anjou, and others prominent in the Wars of the Roses. In consequence, Henry VII. summoned the abbot to make good his claim of sanctuary, and appears to have been satisfied. He gave him exemptions from expeditation for his dogs.[1]

The ancient coat of Beaulieu Abbey was taken by the first Bishop of Newcastle (Australia), as the arms of his colonial see. He had been incumbent of Beaulieu. It is azure, a pastoral cross piercing a crown or, within a bordure sa. bezanty.

The remains are, the refectory, now the parish church, the cloister, the dormitory, and the guest-hall, the abbot's house and gateway, and ruins of the fratry, kitchen, and chapter-house. In the church, 125 feet long, is a graceful stone pulpit, with a lovely arcade leading to it, formerly used by the reader

[1] Expeditation was the cutting off of the forepaws of a dog found straying in the forest. In the "king's house" at Lyndhurst is a stirrup called, though untruly, Rufus's. It has a large opening for the foot, and I was told when I saw it that in "forest days" a dog that could pass through it was not liable to expeditation.

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during the monks' dinner. North of the cloister are visible the foundations of the old abbey church, some 350 feet long. The site of the abbey market-place is still called Cheapside.

In 1207, two years after Bishop Godfrey's death, King John paid his first visit to Winchester. He had succeeded to an inheritance which extended from the Tyne to the Pyrenees, and had now lost it all save England. He stayed there the whole year, and towards the end of it was born the son who, in consequence, is known in history by the name of Henry of Winchester.

In the contest between King John and Pope Innocent III., the bishop who had succeeded Godfrey, PETER DES ROCHES, a Poitevin, who, serving in France under King Richard, had been knighted by him, instigated John to withstand the Pope's excommunication.

When this contest ended so ignobly for England, and Archbishop Langton and the other bishops who had been driven away, returned, they landed at Dover and came to Winchester. The king went out to meet them on the Alresford Road, and "fell on his knees before them and shed many tears." Then they marched in mournful procession into the city, singing the 51st Psalm, and entered, not into the cathedral, for he was still excommunicate, but into the monks' chapter-house. Here he received absolution, and swore to annul all unjust laws and revive the laws of St. Edward; and he also renewed his disgraceful oath to the Pope.

When the fresh struggle arose between John and

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his barons, Langton proved himself a staunch and brave Englishman, the champion of national independence against kingly despotism, declaring that the primate of all England was the legitimate spokesman on behalf of the customs and rights of the realm. The king made his fast friend, Bishop Peter of Winchester, his justiciar, in the hope that he would be able to thwart Langton; but the Poitevin was no match for the Englishman. Up to the last moment the Bishop of Winchester still counselled the king to resist the nation, knowing that the victory of the English was likely enough to drive himself, as a foreigner, out of the country. John found himself at last at Odiham Castle with seven knights only, and on the 15th June, 1215, he signed the Charter at Runnymede.

When Henry of Winchester, at the age of nine years, became king in October, 1216, a coronation, for the first and last time since 1066, could not take place in Westminster Abbey. The French were in possession of London as of Winchester, and the young king was crowned by Bishop Peter des Roches at Gloucester, Archbishop Langton being at Rome. The barons, pitying the youth of the king, and no longer driven to the hard necessity of accepting the King of France as their sovereign, paid Louis an indemnity and despatched him in dudgeon back to France. The papal legate and the Bishop of Winchester declared their adhesion to the Charter; only, in re-issuing it, they omitted two clauses which restricted the royal power over taxation. But on Langton's return from Rome

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he restored them, and made the king swear to them anew. In fact, he made the Charter and English liberty the first objects of his care. But the weak king listened to the dangerous advice of Bishop Peter, even dreaming of recovering the lost Norman and Angevin dominions. The bishop advised him, when lacking money, to resume a great number of valuable grants which he had inconsiderately distributed, and so increased enmity among the courtiers, as well as caused wise lookers-on to forbode sore evils. One day, one of the royal chaplains, the famous Roger Bacon, asked the king what things he thought the prudent pilot of a ship should avoid most. Henry replied that Roger himself, who had made many voyages, could best answer that question. "They are," said Bacon, "*Stones* and *Rocks*," alluding to the two names of the prelate. The king seems to have taken this hint, or others of the same character, and the bishop was supplanted as chief minister by Hubert de Burgh, and retired to the Holy Land for five years. Langton died in 1228, an irreparable loss to the nation. Des Roches came back and resumed his evil influence, which he held for about two years, when the royal indignation was so powerfully excited against his nephew (or natural son), Peter de Rivalis, that they had to go into hiding. However, the bishop once more recovered favour, and kept it until his death, which took place at Farnham in 1238.[1] "He

[1] The grand hall by the Westgate at Winchester, now the assize court, was the work of this prelate. It is part of the old castle. The money for building was raised by selling timber from Bere Forest. The Westgate itself was probably built

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was a man of knightly character," says Matthew Paris, with gentle sarcasm, "more learned in war than in scholarship." But it will not be untrue if we pass the harsher judgment, that he was an evil counsellor.

One act of his episcopate must be especially noted. We have seen how one Bishop of Winchester introduced the famous Cistercian Order into England. An act certainly not less important in its results was the work of Bishop Peter des Roches. He introduced the Preaching Friars into England, the greatest theologians of the Middle Ages, whose teachings first raised Oxford to its grand position. The Cistercian enthusiasm had almost spent itself, and still men saw that there was some terrible lack in the religious life of men. The papacy and the priesthood, indeed, had never been more powerful, but where was the fear of God? The Popes were showing too plainly that, in spite of their professions, it was worldly ambition which lay at the root of their claims; their extortions from the day of the humiliation of King John had gone on increasing, and any protest against their deeds of plunder was sure to be followed by threats of excommunication. The monasteries had turned into rich landholding corporations, which sent poor incapables to minister in the parishes which they owned, and grasped the tithes themselves. Prelates were mere politicians, very often

during the following episcopate. Visitors will remember the famous relic which hangs at the upper end of the hall, the famous "Round Table of King Arthur." Of its earlier history all that is known is that it is mentioned by Harding, a poet of the reign of Edward IV.

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non-resident, dwelling at court, and doing their work by deputies. The parochial clergy lived such scandalous lives that reformers like Grossetête, Bishop of Lincoln, had to issue orders to his clergy against drunkenness, gambling, and debauchery.

Such was the state of things in England and on the Continent, which led to the establishment of the Preaching Friars. The two chief orders were named after their founders—St. Dominic and St. Francis—the Dominicans or Black Friars and the Franciscan or Grey Friars. But there were also the Carmelites or White Friars, and the Crutched Friars, Blue, deriving their name from the staff with a crook which they carried. These made their way into every part of the country, bound to absolute poverty, forbidden to possess money or lands. If houses were offered them, others were to hold them in trust for their use. By this great revolution religious knowledge was conveyed to thousands for the first time in their lives, especially in the towns, where the only instruction of the people had been solely conveyed through the public ceremonial,—for preaching there had been none. Their difference from the previous Cistercian movement was immediately marked. The Cistercians had chosen the country, the friars went to the towns. Before long they had become a power at the Universities, and there were some who became bishops, and even ascended the papal throne.

About the year 1225, Bishop des Roches placed the Dominican Friars in Winchester and built them a house or college near the east gate, on the north side of the town. A little later a Franciscan monas-

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tery was also established.[1] Both have quite disappeared. At the suppression of the religious houses in the reign of Henry VIII., the Dominican revenues were granted to the warden and fellows of the college. Some sixty years later the Carmelites were established on the site of the college meadows.

Somewhat earlier the bishop also founded the famous hospital of God's House at Portsmouth, and dedicated it to St. John the Baptist and St. Nicholas, and on three several occasions endowed it with lands. Once it is recorded that he took measures to prevent its encroaching on the liberties of the parish church, and bound it by way of fealty to pay the church 5s. quarterly. Incidental notices from time to time show that it continued to receive fresh donations. William of Wykeham, who had made his brother warden, bequeathed it a set of vestments and a chalice. In 1306 it received right of free warren[2] in Portsmouth. At the dissolution the hospital was returned as worth in gross £79. 13s. 7½d., which sum alms, fees, and other settled charges, reduced to £33. 19s. 5½d. The chapel, after the dissolution of

[1] Three celebrated Franciscans were surnamed from this diocese, namely, the Ockhams. The most celebrated was William of Ockham, the "Invincible Doctor," founder of the Nominalists. The very remarkable seven-light east window in Ockham Church must have been made in his days (end of thirteenth century).

[2] "Warren is a place kept for the purpose of breeding game or rabbits. In its strict legal sense, a right of free warren can only be derived by grant from the Crown, and gives certain privileges to the warrener, as to recovering game and destroying dogs that infest it."—CHAMBERS'S CYCLOPÆDIA.

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the hospital, was converted into a garrison chapel, and was presented with a massive chalice and paten by Queen Anne, and with service-books by George III. It is now admirably restored, and is said to be at present the oldest military chapel in the world. Sir C. Napier, the Indian hero, is buried by the west door. A post-reformation terrier recites certain Portsmouth lands as belonging to the hospital, but the very names are, for the most part, forgotten.

It was on his return from Palestine, probably as a result of a vow made on his voyage, that the bishop began to build and endow a priory of Austin or Black Canons at Selborne. "Why the bishop made choice of Selborne for the scene of his munificence," says Gilbert White, "can never be determined now: it can only be said that the parish was in his diocese, and lay almost midway between Winchester and Farnham, and between Waltham and Farnham; from either of which places he could, without much trouble, overlook his workmen and observe what progress they made; and that the situation was retired, with a stream running by it, and sequestered from the world amidst woods and meadows, and so far proper for the site of a religious house." For the site the bishop first bought four small crofts from Jacobus de Ackanger [now Oakhanger], and the conveyance runs, "Warrantizabimus, defendemus, et æquietabimus contra omnes gentes"; that is, "We will warrant the thing sold against all claims from any quarter." The bishop gave 16 marks for this land. He then bought some adjoining grounds, through which the village streamlet runs, in order that the priory might

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have a mill, a common necessary appendage to every manor, and this also secured a right of way. In the conveyance it is added at the end that the bishop has advanced the vendor 35 marks of silver to pay his debts to the Jews,—they being the only lenders of money.

Still finding himself straitened for room, the founder applied to King Henry, who responded by granting certain manors to his favourite minister, adding all kinds of immunities and privileges that could be specified, "with all liberties in wood and meadow, roads and footpaths, fields and pastures, waters and fisheries," &c. The priors, upon induction, had to give the bishop's commissary, by way of fee, a palfrey with saddle, a cope, and a pair of boots.

The priory, however, did not flourish. Bishop William of Wykeham, visiting it in 1387, found a whole swarm of scandalous abuses, which had for years made this place a pest to the neighbourhood. He tried to reform it, but it had become too bad. Bishop Waynflete suppressed it, and in 1484 gave the revenues to his own foundation of Magdalen College, Oxford. The advowson still belongs to that college. Perhaps it need not be told that a very full account of the fortunes of this priory will be found in Gilbert White's well-known "History of Selborne."

Another work of Bishop Peter was the establishment in 1231 of two abbeys of Præmonstratensians,[1]

[1] They were a branch of Augustinians, deriving their name from Premonastre, in Picardy, where they were founded by a German named Norbert, in 1121. There were many houses belonging to this order in France and Germany, but only thirty-five in England, of which the chief was Welbeck Abbey, Nottinghamshire.

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the one at Titchfield, the other at Halesowen in Shropshire. The bishop had the patronage of both. At the dissolution the former was granted to Sir Thomas Wriothesley, and the latter to Sir John Dudley.

Concerning another work attributed to Bishop Peter there is doubt. Some attribute to him the foundation of Netley Abbey, but others date that foundation in the year following his death. Netley was a daughter of Beaulieu. The original name was Letley [Lætus locus, "beautiful spot"?]. It was largely endowed by Henry III., who also gave the monks a charter for holding a market at Hound (the parish in which Netley stands), and a fair and right of market at Wellow, and in 1279 he bestowed on Netley, Beaulieu, Waverley, Titchfield, and St. Denys, a ton yearly of wine each. Roger de Clere in 1243 gave lands and the advowson of Shere, near Guildford, to this abbey, and the gift is commemorated in the still existing name there of Netley Place. The Abbots of Netley, Beaulieu, Quarr, and Titchfield were summoned to Parliament in 1295, 1296, 1300, 1302. The Abbot of Netley was one of the first to sanction the divorce of Henry VIII. from Catharine. At the dissolution (Thos. Stevens, abbot) it was worth £160. 2s. 9½d. yearly gross, but was charged with fees and alms £59. 10s. 1½d. It was first given to Sir William Powlet, but soon came into possession of the Seymours. Queen Elizabeth visited the Earl of Hertford here in 1560. Twice, according to tradition, attempts to pull the beautiful ruins down have been frustrated. In the reign of James I. some

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stones fell on a man thus engaged and killed him, and the same thing happened to a carpenter who bought the ruins in 1750. They were long neglected, but are now enclosed and protected. The cloister and dormitories remain, and the fine pillars of the chancel are nearly perfect, but hardly any of the nave remains. The touching motto of the abbey, taken from St. Bernard, and Wordsworth's beautiful translation, deserve to be quoted:—"Bonum est nos hic esse, quia homo vivit purius, cadit rarius, surgit velocius, incedit cautius, quiescit securius, moritur felicius, purgatur citius, premiatur copiosius."

"Here man more purely lives, less oft doth fall;
More promptly rises, walks with stricter heed;
More safely rests, dies happier; is freed
Earlier from cleansing fires; and gains withal
A brighter crown."

The death of Peter des Roches synchronises with the beginning of the Barons' Wars, in which the liberties of the nation and the upholding of righteousness were so bravely upheld by the great Simon de Montfort. The history of our diocese well illustrates the evil days into which England had for the time fallen. Henry's marriage with Eleanor of Savoy in 1236 was the signal for an immigration of hosts of foreigners. When Peter died, the king called on the monks to elect his wife's uncle, William of Valence. Not long after he procured the election of another, Boniface of Savoy, to Canterbury. The monks of Winchester had heard unpleasing reports of William, and refused to elect him, but they showed their willingness to compromise by electing in suc-

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cession two of the king's favourite chaplains—William de Rayleigh, then Bishop of Norwich, and Ralph Nevill, Bishop of Chichester. The king refused both, and for five years the contest continued, and the see was without a bishop. William of Valence had died shortly after the beginning of the quarrel, and the monks then re-elected Rayleigh. The king, however, intrigued with the papal court, and contrived to procure the issuing of two bulls enjoining that no man should be elected to the see who was in any way objectionable to the king. At length Rayleigh succeeded in getting the election ratified, and went to take possession, but he found the gates shut against him, the mayor being ordered by the king to refuse him admission. In vain he marched round the walls barefooted, addressing the citizens with impassioned words; in vain he changed his method, and threatened them with an interdict. Both alike were disregarded, so he uttered an excommunication and went away to France. He was, however, reconciled to the king at last, and was enthroned at Winchester on November 20, 1244. Five years afterwards he died abroad. The king then put forward his half-brother, another Poitevin, for election,—who already held four rich livings,—namely, Ethelmar or Aylmer de Valence, son of Isabella, King John's widow, and Hugh le Brun of Poitou. So eager was the king for this election that he went himself to Winchester, assembled the monks, and addressed to them an impassioned speech, a mixture of cajolery and supplication and menace. The monks, shut up together, with heavy hearts ruminated on their position. Ethelmar

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had neither character nor learning to recommend him. He was not even of canonical age. But with all their past confusions and unhappiness fresh in their memories, and with the consciousness that Henry had means to bribe the Pope, which they had not, they settled to accept the nomination, and elected him. Thereupon Ethelmar, in order that he might keep his former preferments, and also receive the income of Winchester, determined not to be consecrated, but to remain bishop-elect of Winchester, which he did for nine years. But this did not prevent him from behaving with cruelty towards the monks of St. Swithun. Once he shut them up without food for three days. "It is with justice we suffer these things," they said, "because we feared the wrath of man more than of God, and raised this unworthy youth to the power which he so much abuses." But the prior, William of Taunton, went to Rome, and gave such an account of the bishop's tyranny that the Pope took up the cause, honourably restored him (for Aylmer had expelled him), and invested him with the ensigns of a prelate—mitre, ring, and crosier—a privilege which was to descend to his successors, the priors of St. Swithun, and which was rarely bestowed on any religious under the rank of an abbot. But a more serious blow was in store for the bishop.

The king, embarrassed by a formidable war with the Welsh, called a Parliament at Winchester in April, 1258. The baronage responded to the summons by appearing in arms, with the Earl of Leicester at their head. They demanded that a committee of twenty-four should be appointed to meet the Parliament and

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reform the abuses which had afflicted the nation for twenty years. There was no resisting the demand, to such a height had public feeling grown. The result is commonly known as "The Provisions of Oxford," because the stipulated meeting took place there two months afterwards. A royal proclamation, memorable as being the first document in the English tongue since the Conquest, stated what these provisions were. The original twenty-four were to reform the Church, a second twenty-four to supervise the finances, and a permanent council of fifteen were to advise the king in matters of government. The first act of the Church committee was to send Bishop Ethelmar and his brothers into banishment. The monks of Winchester then felt justified in proceeding to a new election, and the king dared not oppose them. They chose Henry Wengham, the royal chancellor, but he was too cautious to accept the honour, and when he refused it the king made him Bishop of London.

Before long divisions arose among the patriot barons, and Henry took advantage of them to re-establish his irresponsible authority. The barons, he said, had not kept their engagements in the Provisions of Oxford and he should not keep his. The banished Ethelmar plucked up courage, and succeeded (so he asserted, but it was probably untrue), in procuring his consecration at Rome. Then he turned his face towards England. "In 1260, on the feast of the Lord's ascension, says one chronicle, Aylmer bishop-elect of Winchester, brother of Henry III. was consecrated to his bishopric by our Lord the Pope

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Alexander the fourth, all objections to him on the part of the barons and the monks of Winchester being broken in the Roman Court, and with much preparation prepared to go to England, Vincent, Archbishop of Turenne, being sent beforehand with full power to lay all England under an interdict if they would not suffer him to enter peaceably into his bishopric." His triumph therefore was complete. But on his way he fell sick at Paris and died. He was buried at St. Geneviève, but his heart was conveyed to Winchester Cathedral. A wretched contest followed between the partisans of the rival priors, William of Taunton and Andrew of London, so the Pope took the appointment into his own hands and presented John Gervayse, Chancellor of York, to the vacant see. One of his first acts on taking possession was to depose the turbulent Andrew of London, and imprison him in Hyde Abbey. He escaped by a trick and pretended it was by a miracle, and moreover hypocritically hung up his fetters in thanksgiving at Canterbury as a thank-offering to St. Thomas the Martyr. The Winton annalist adds that the trophy is kept there in sport, for nobody believes a word of his story. The same writer goes on to tell that in the year 1263 certain justices "sat at Winchester, plotting among themselves;" that "the people of Winchester seized the property of both clergy and laity within and without the walls, and forced contributions from them, masking their villany under pretence of asserting the rights of the king." Next year, on the 4th of May, the men of Winchester rose in a body against the prior and convent of St. Swithun

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and completely burnt the gate of the priory and the gate called Kingsgate, with the church of St. Swithun,[1] together with all the buildings and property belonging to the prior and convent near the wall; they also cruelly murdered some persons belonging to the priory within the boundary wall of the monastery. During all the early part of the next year we note in the Winchester Annals the moves and countermoves of the two parties. Simon de Montfort the younger took possession of the city with his army in the beginning of July, and the bishop was then and throughout his warm partizan. Had Prince Edward had his will moderate counsels would have led the way to peace. But his younger brother Edmund, who had just received Earl Simon's estates, prevented this. And the reaction, in its full swing, was not likely to be moderate. In September, five weeks after the battle of Evesham, King Henry came in triumph and held a parliament here. The cathedral was laid under an interdict, which a few days after was extended to the whole city. The bishop was suspended from his functions by Ottoboni, the papal legate, as were also those of London and Chichester, and they all crossed the sea to appeal to the Pope. The interdicts

[1] There were three churches in the city dedicated to this saint. St. Swithun's, in Kingsgate Street, still exists, a small and curious building over the gateway. It is exactly described in Mr. Trollope's novel of "The Warden," as existing in Barchester. There is a very interesting catalogue in Milner's "Winchester" of all the old city churches, from which it appears that there were once ninety-one, and the historian has identified the sites of nearly all of them.

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do not seem to have been removed until August 1267, a year and seven months. Hyde Abbey was again banned for four weeks at the end of the year because the monks had fought with the legate's men. The bishop died at Viterbo, in January, 1268, and as he died *in curia*, or at the Court of Rome, the appointment of his successor, according to the ancient ordinances of the canon law (so says Milner), belonged of right to the Pope. He made choice of NICHOLAS ELY, Bishop of Worcester, who had been Lord Chancellor in 1260, and again in 1263. That his episcopate is uneventful, speaks well for the returning peace of the country. When the hot blood of partisans had cooled, the nation called Earl Simon a martyr, and whispers went about of miracles wrought at his tomb. Prince Edward saw his opportunity, and while he relaxed not his vigour against those who still held arms against his father, and cleared the forests and woods of outlaws, who were harrying their neighbourhoods,[1] he was watchful for every opportunity of establishing suitable peace. It came at last; a committee of twelve was appointed with the king's consent to arrange the government, and the Bishop of Winchester was one of these. "The award of Kenilworth" was the result of their delibera-

[1] Hearing that a fierce gigantic knight, Adam de Gurdon, was holding East Hampshire in terror, Edward sought him out in single combat, and fought and defeated him near Selborne. From that time he treated him as a personal friend, and Adam became deeply attached to him. Edward gave him lands at Selborne, and he, in extreme old age, became a great benefactor to Selborne Priory (see p. 104).

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tions; it was substantially an assertion of all which Earl Simon had fought for; and it was entirely successful, for peace returned. In 1268, King Henry, now grown old and feeble, met his parliament once more at Winchester. There he formally appointed his son Edward seneschal of England and warden of London and of all the castles in England. So entirely was the civil strife at an end, and order restored on a national basis, that Prince Edward joined the crusade, which had just been undertaken by St. Louis of France, the last of the crusades and a failure like its predecessors. In 1272 he returned to England as King Edward I. Of the great importance of his reign to the nation and to the church generally we need not speak, but there is little in the history of King Edward which concerns Winchester or its diocese in particular. None of the bishops of this reign or the next were men of any mark, and Winchester declined rapidly while London increased.

Squabbles between the bishop and the monks of St. Swithun, in 1274 and again in 1276, fill whole pages of the Winton Annalist. Twenty-four jurats of the city sent to the king to declare that they "could not govern the city nor keep it quiet by reason of the violence and numbers of these disturbers of the peace." The Archbishop of Canterbury (Kilwardby) came on visitation through the province, and kept Christmas, 1264, at the bishop's manor of Bitterne, near Southampton. At length the king himself came to the city with his queen Eleanor and stayed here three weeks, doing his best to put an end

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to the strifes which he found both among the clerics and the civilians.

The dedication in 1278 of the abbey church of Waverley, which had just been rebuilt, is the only other record we have of Bishop Nicholas. He was always very partial to Waverley, and, on the day of dedication, is said to have entertained there between seven and eight thousand persons. On his death in 1280 he bequeathed his body to Waverley and his heart to Winchester.

The monks elected in his place Robert Brunel, Bishop of Bath, but the Pope refused to allow his translation. Then they elected Richard de la More, sub-dean of Lincoln, and he was actually put in possession of the temporalities, but Archbishop Peckham, to whom the election was notified, found valid objections to it. Richard thereupon went to Rome to plead his cause, but was pursued by a letter from Peckham declaring that if the objections were overruled he would resign the primacy. Thereupon the Pope once more took the matter into his own hands, and appointed JOHN SAWBRIDGE, who had been Chancellor of Oxford and Archdeacon of Exeter, but was now professor of civil law at Modena.[1] He was consecrated and took possession of his see, and at once showed his ability by putting an end to the dissensions in the cathedral. The convent gave up to the

[1] He is perhaps more commonly known as John de Pontissera, or Pontoise, the origin of which is that probably, owing to his foreign work, "Sawbridge" was absurdly translated into Pontissera. This, however, is not so ridiculous as the conversion of Andrew Borde into *Andreas Perforatus*.

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bishop and his successors the advowsons of many churches in the diocese, to which before they had claimed the right to present; the bishop, on his part, resigning to the convent the manors of Gosport, Alverstoke, Droxford, &c., as likewise the custody of the convent itself, upon the death of its priors, ordering that they should henceforth be perpetual and not movable at the pleasure of the diocesan, as had hitherto been the case, reserving, however, to himself the rights of patronage, with certain other rights specified in the register.[1] For the purpose of promoting learning among his clergy, Bishop Pontoise established a college, dedicated to St. Elizabeth of Hungary, for a provost, six chaplains, six clerks, and six choristers. The statutes which he made for its government prove his zeal for piety, learning, and discipline, but were such as would be thought grievous and impracticable now.[2] But the most interesting foundation of that period was one which still exists, St. John's House, or Hospital, founded in 1289, on the original foundation of Bishop Brinstan, by John Devenish, a worthy and charitable citizen. He obtained licence of King Edward for an hospital "for the relief of sick and lame soldiers, poor pilgrims, and necessitated wayfaring men, to have diet and lodging thereto fit and convenient, for one night or longer, as their abilities to travel gave leave, without any expense or payment." He

[1] The Episcopal Registers of this diocese begin with Pontoise, in 1282, and are unbroken from that time.

[2] One dish only a day was allowed. Religious offices were carried on almost incessantly.

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also "endowed it with competent and fair allowance, and furnished the room with bedding and all necessaries for their further accommodation." The mayor was to be keeper. In the return, 37 Henry VIII., it is stated that he intended "to have a priest to sing there for ever, to pray for his soul and for the souls of all Cristen men." In 1558, Ralph Lamb bequeathed £400, which was laid out in land, for the maintenance of as many poor as might be, and a charter of Queen Elizabeth, after setting forth the purpose of the Hospital, orders that the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty shall be keepers of it. The affairs of the charity were managed under this charter until 1829, when, in consequence of loud complaints of mismanagement, the corporation resigned their powers to trustees appointed by the Court of Chancery. The transfer immediately justified its wisdom, for, since then, the revenues have greatly increased,—six poor women, past sixty, receive 10s. a week, a ton of coals and 8s. 4d. ("shift-money") yearly, £1 every other year for a gown, and 6s. 8d. on All Saints' Day. The other inmates receive 10s. a week each. The property lies in two farms at Micheldever and Headbourne Worthy and sixty houses in Winchester, and amounts to more than £1,500 a year. The trustees are the bishop, the wardens of Winchester and New College, Oxford, and five others. The chapel, a beautiful Early English building, was disused after the Reformation, and became ruinous. In 1710 it was turned into a schoolroom, but has now been repaired and restored to its original use.

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Probably in the episcopate of Pontoise, the refectory of "St. Swithun's Priory" was built for the purpose of giving hospitality to travellers, hospitality being a virtue for which the cathedral monks are said to have been conspicuous. It still exists, a fine room, now used as a storehouse.

Bishop HENRY WOODLOCK, also called MARWELL from the place of his nativity near Owslebury, came under the displeasure of King Edward I. for supporting Archbishop Winchelsey in his contest with the king, and was outlawed till Edward's death. His successor restored the two prelates, and Woodlock crowned Edward II. and Isabella at Westminster, the archbishop having gone to Rome to appeal. In Woodlock's time the order of the Knights of the Temple was suppressed, on the demand of Philip IV. to the Pope, who was come under his power. They appear to have had a preceptory in Winchester; they had one also at North Baddesley.[1] On their suppression the latter was given to the Hospitallers, who had been put in possession of Godsfield and the lands of St. Cross in 1199.[2] The present names of Sion Hill and Knightswood at Baddesley are memorials of the knights departed. We note that Bishop Woodlock had collections made all through the diocese for the repairs of Hyde Abbey.

Of Bishop JOHN SANDALL, Chancellor of England,

[1] Adam de Port gave them a mill at Warnford. Every vestige of it has disappeared, but the place still goes by the name of "The Mill."

[2] The royal confirmation of these holdings was written by the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Rouen, August 30, 1199.

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there is hardly anything recorded except that he neglected his diocese and suffered the episcopal houses to get out of repair; that he also allowed a convent of nuns at Witney to be dissolved for want of timely assistance, for all which things he was sharply called to account by his metropolitan Archbishop Walter. He died at Southwark, and was buried in the church of St. Mary Overy. Another contest followed between the king and the monks, ending, as ofttimes before, by the Pope nominating a third party, REGINALD ASSER. Archbishop Walter refusing to take part in the consecration it was done by the Bishop of London. He died in less than three years at Avignon, and the Pope consequently claimed the right of appointment, and named JOHN OF STRATFORD, called so from his birthplace, Stratford-on-Avon, whom King Edward had sent on an embassy to the Pope's court at Avignon, and who persuaded the Pope to give him the see, which fell vacant during his visit.[1] He was much harassed by Edward II., who was angry that a nominee of his own was not appointed, and he was even obliged to go into hiding. But, afterwards, the ill-fated king showed much trust in him. When Edward's condition became desperate, Bishop Stratford was one of the persons deputed to ask him to resign. After his murder, Mortimer in turn hunted the bishop greatly, but on the accession of Edward III. he received many marks of honour, and in 1333 he was translated to the primacy. His successor at Winchester was ADAM ORLTON, translated from Wor-

[1] He founded a chantry afterwards at Stratford, which was suppressed by Edward IV. and given to the Earl of Warwick.

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cester, and though, like so many that we have been seeing in succession, he was a man of no mark, his history has one remarkable point. As Bishop of Hereford he had been a strong opponent of the king, and the king having gained a temporary advantage brought him to trial before the secular court for high treason. The bishop pleaded clerical immunity, and claimed to be tried by an ecclesiastical court only. But, though the whole hierarchy was on his side, and "the Archbishops of Canterbury, York, and Dublin, came into court, with their crosses erect, and carried off the bishop without giving him time to answer the indictment," he was tried in his absence, deposed from his office, and deprived of his temporalities. Such a proceeding was unprecedented; no English bishop had ever before been tried by a temporal court. It was another assertion of the principle, so warmly insisted on by Edward I., that Churchmen as landholders, and therefore claiming State protection, must be made subject to the law. In this case, indeed, the bishop was restored when the barons became victors, but the precedent was not forgotten. When the war broke out between Edward and Isabella, Orlton joined the queen's adherents, and, preaching before her at Oxford, took for his text 2 Kings, iv. 19, "doleo caput," in which he argued that a distempered head should be removed.[1] For such ardent partisanship he

[1] A worse charge than this piece of vile taste which is sometimes brought against him seems to be untrue. He has been accused of sending to the wretched Edward's keepers at Berkeley Castle the following ambiguous advice, "Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est"; where everything depends on whether

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was elevated, by the queen's influence, to Worcester in 1327, and now, as we see, he is removed to Winchester, thereby giving occasion for this sarcastic epigram :—

Thomam [patron saint of Hereford] despexit ; Wulstanum non bene rexit :
Swithunum maluit. Cur? Quia plus valuit.

Great opposition was made to the appointment; Orlton's clever and successful apology still exists.[1] He was blind for some years before his death. The monks were anxious to have for his successor John Devenish, the son of the good founder of St. John's House, but Edward III. was bent on having his treasurer, WILLIAM OF EDYNGDON, Master of St. Cross, which he had been greatly improving, and Rector of Cheriton, where he had been partially rebuilding the church. Accordingly, he was consecrated; Devenish, by way of compensation, being made Abbot of Canterbury.

The establishment of the Order of the Garter, in 1346, is a reminder of the gorgeous chivalry which rose to its height at this epoch. A token of the king's regard for the newly made bishop was given in making him the Chancellor of the new Order. It was to pass and has passed to his successor in the see of Winchester ever since.

But at this moment the minds of men were forced, whether they would or no, to think of something more than military glory or gorgeous display. The

the comma shall follow "nolite" or "timere." The story is told as authentic in Murray's "Cathedrals,—Hereford," p. 134. But Milner gives good reasons for disbelieving it.

[1] Thysdeni X. Scriptores, "Apologia Adi. de Orlton."

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terrible Black Death, starting from China, arrived in Europe and in 1348 entered England. More than half, some say nine-tenths, of the population of England died. Cattle strayed about without owners; but labour became dear for want of men. Southampton, where it began in England, was nearly depopulated. Ten years customs were remitted to enable the townsfolk to recover their means of living. Winchester too had only 2,000 inhabitants thirty years later. At Wyke nearly the whole population died. But the saviours of Southampton at this crisis were the Preaching Friars. They drained and purified the town, and there are engineering works of theirs existing still. The Merchant Guild, a religious fraternity as well as a trading company, gave shape to the municipal organisation. But all through the century it was uphill work in this town. A French fleet had burned Portsmouth, another had pillaged Southampton and massacred the inhabitants. But in 1363 Edward's removal of the woolstaple to Calais gave a deadly blow to the Hampshire trade. The derangement of trade caused by the Black Death was probably the cause of Bishop Edyngdon's alterations in the coinage, for it will be remembered he was the king's treasurer. He coined certain pieces, groats and half groats, of less weight than before. No doubt the depreciation of specie was for the moment a benefit to the hard-pressed government, but this tampering with the coinage was sure in the long run to do mischief.

On the death of Islip, Archbishop of Canterbury, Edyngdon was offered the Primacy. He declined it,

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"some say on account of his humility, others of his advanced age, whilst again others set it down to avarice, putting into his mouth the expression that *though Canterbury is the highest rack, Winchester has the deepest manger.*" Certainly the bishop seems little open to the charge of greed, for, after his public works, he spent his whole income among the poor. His alleged saying, however, passed into a proverb which held its ground into the present century.

The public works which we have referred to were of considerable importance. He founded a college of secular canons at his native place, Edington, in Wilts; but the Black Prince persuaded him to change it into a convent of a certain order of hermits called Bonhommes. Its revenue at the suppression amounted to £442. 9s. 7d. But the work of his that remains to this day is that which he did for the restoration of his cathedral. We have seen how Bishop Godfrey de Lucy had renovated Walkelin's choir. But the nave was now becoming ruinous, and to this Edyngdon turned his attention. He began at the west end, the west front is his work, and thence on each side he proceeded eastwards encasing Walkelin's north and south walls with new work. But he had not proceeded far when he died (October 8, 1366), leaving money in his will for the completion.[1] He was buried in his cathedral, where his chantry, tomb with recumbent figure, and somewhat canine Latin epitaph, are still to be seen.

[1] . . . . ad perfectionem navis Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Winton a se inchoatæ et ad subsidium domûs sanctæ Catharinæ de Edyngdon a se fundatæ.

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CHAPTER IX.

WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM.

WE have come at last to a prelate who was a mighty contrast to the very inferior men who, with hardly an exception, had filled this great see for nearly two hundred years. The public works and noble foundations of WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM have lasted until now, and will go on doing good, by the blessing of God, for ages to come. He was the greatest of the bishops of Winchester, and his memory is cherished in the city and diocese with religious veneration. He was born at Wickham, a village between Bishop's Waltham and Fareham, in 1324,[1] of parents obscure, indeed, but probably somewhat above peasants, their names John and Sibyl Longe.[2] He does not seem to have been sent to the University, but he fell under the favourable notice of Nicholas Uvedale, lord of the manor of Wickham and governor of Winchester Castle, a great man of his day, who sent him to a school at Winchester on the site of the present college, and here he showed a special aptitude not

[1] The same year as Wycliffe, and four years before Chaucer.

[2] His arms are two chevrons between three roses; on which Glover, Somerset herald, writing to Lord Burghley in 1572, says, "they are usual arms of *Carpenters*," but thinks that Wykeham may not have inherited them, but assumed them in memory of his great works of building.

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only for mathematics and canon law but also for engineering and architecture. He was devout as a child and used to resort constantly to a particular chapel of the blessed Virgin in the cathedral to pray. On his leaving school Uvedale first took him as his secretary, and afterwards introduced him to Bishop Edyngdon, and he to King Edward III. That king in 1356 made him surveyor of his works at his castle and park of Windsor. Some of the details of his patent of office are very curious. He had powers to hire all kinds of artificers, and to provide stone, timber, and carriages. He had 1s. a day while he stayed at Windsor, 2s. when he went elsewhere, and 3s. a week for his clerk. By his advice the king pulled down the greater part of the castle of Windsor, and under Wykeham's direction it was rebuilt in the magnificent form in which it now appears. A yet greater proof of his skill and good judgment was the building of Queenborough Castle in Kent, the low and marshy ground presenting serious obstacles, which he overcame. And thus he grew daily in his royal master's favour, who, on his taking orders, gave him so many preferments[1] that they amounted in value to £870. Many were given when he took minor orders only, for he received the tonsure in 1357, and was ordained priest in 1362. On Edyngdon's death, on the king's earnest recommendation, the monks of St. Swithun unanimously elected him bishop. A dispute immediately ensued between the king and the Pope, the latter asserting his right to "Provision," and a delay

[1] The catalogue occupies two pages in Lowth's "Life."

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of a full year in the consecration was the consequence. The dispute was settled by a compromise, for the king was not only very anxious to have Wykeham bishop but he dared not add the Pope to the number of his foes. His meanness and acts of dishonesty and oppression had made him hated abroad as well as at home, and the Roman see might be made too useful to allow him to lose its good will. The Pope, too, who was leading anything but a comfortable life under French thraldom, was glad to keep on friendly terms with the king. The terms of the compromise, as shown in the Pope's bull of consecration, are certainly rather ludicrous. He states that Wykeham is bishop "by provision" but also calls him "bishop-elect," thus respecting his own rights, while yielding the point. Wykeham had already held the Privy Seal, he was now made Chancellor,[1] but only held the office between three and four years. An angry feeling had grown up in the baronage against the clergy. They found themselves impoverished with the war, while they had won glory for themselves at Crecy and Poictiers, and they saw with bitterness the clergy rich and at ease round the council board. And the clergy had no confidence in themselves, the prelates were rich, the rank and file wretchedly poor,[2] Wycliffe was shaking the very foundations of the church by

[1] It is noticeable that the first Parliament after his appointment was opened not by Wykeham but by Archbishop Langham, the speakership of the lords not being as yet appropriated by custom to the Chancellor. However, he opened the Parliament of 1371.

[2] Chaucer's prologue, "The Parson."

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his tracts and his preaching, and the hatred between the secular clergy and the preaching friars was intense. Then the clergy shared in the contempt which was felt for the court of Avignon, and their moral authority seemed passing away. The parliament of 1370–71 petitioned the king that he would choose his principal officers in court and household from secular men and not clerics. The king declined to be bound, but agreed for the occasion, and Wykeham, apparently with much pleasure, gave up the seal to Sir Robert Thorp. That he personally was not in disfavour with the nation appears from the following circumstance. In 1373 the king had sunk into dotage, worn out by his profligacy; the Black Prince was slowly dying; and the Duke of Clarence brought back from France a defeated and ruined army. The government of England had fallen into the hands of John of Gaunt, who peremptorily demanded fresh subsidies. The commons in reply demanded—it is the first instance of such a thing—a conference with the lords, after which they granted the money, but added a provision that it was to be spent only on the war. One of the seven lords named by them for the conference was Wykeham, whose prudence they had marked in a council which had been held the year before to examine the finances of the country.

Meanwhile Wykeham was active in his see. He found the episcopal residences in ruinous condition,[1]

[1] He received for dilapidations from his predecessors' executors, "127 draught horses, 1,556 head of black cattle, 8,653 sheep, 3,521 lambs, corn and other goods worth £1,662 and 700 marks."

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and set about the restorations in the most business-like manner, expending 20,000 marks, and getting good work for the money. Then he visited his whole diocese, not only the secular clergy through the several deaneries, but also all the religious houses, and next year he appointed commissioners with power to reform the abuses which he had observed. After three such visitations, so as to make himself master of all the facts, he issued injunctions to each house suited to their several exigencies. His own daily life was characterised by religious fervour and self-denial. He visited the rich, relieved the wants of the poor, solved intricate cases of conscience, and preached indefatigably. He found out with much labour a whole mass of crying abuses at St. Cross, and when he had got rid of these he made his friend John de Campeden, Rector of Cheriton, the master. He also displayed his wondrous taste for architecture by repairing the bishop's palaces, Wolvesey, Farnham, Southwark, Waltham, and the manor houses of Marwell, Bishop's Sutton, Highclere, Esher, Taunton, and Wargrave.

For nine years such was his life, but at the end of that time trouble came upon him. The Black Prince died in June, 1376, and John of Gaunt was aiming to supplant his son Richard on the throne. He had bribed and intrigued, and now endeavoured to win the commons by offering to confiscate the church revenues; but the offer only disgusted them. They foresaw that the impoverishment and ruin of a whole estate of the realm would do no good to them, and would do irretrievable harm to the nation, and they

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joined the prelates with Wykeham at their head, and presented a petition of grievances, in which they denounced the war and the oppressive taxation, and demanded an account of the expenditure. And they brought young Richard into Parliament and formally acknowledged his right to succeed; and they further procured the nomination of nine lords, with Wykeham and two other bishops among them, as permanent members of the royal council. This is what is known as "the Good Parliament" of 1376.

But no sooner was it dismissed than Gaunt haughtily annulled all its proceedings, and refused to allow them to be enrolled among the statutes; dismissed the new lords from the council; and brought charges against Wykeham, on the evidence of persons whose names are unknown, of having embezzled the king's revenues for eight years, amounting to £1,109,600 sterling; of having fined some of the king's best soldiers, and so disaffected the army; of having released French hostages for bribes; and some five or six other charges. On the strength of all of which the sheriffs of the counties concerned were ordered to seize into the king's hands all the temporalities of the bishop. The hearing of the bishop's defence was postponed to an uncertain day at the king's pleasure, and the day was never named. Meanwhile, he was forbidden in the king's name to come within twenty miles of court. He left Southwark, therefore, and went to Merton, and afterwards to Waverley Abbey. A proof of Gaunt's bitter spite was seen when, a general amnesty of all crimes being granted on the occasion

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of the king completing the fiftieth year of his reign, Wykeham was specially exempted.

He was summoned in due course to Convocation by the archbishop's mandate. As soon as it was opened, the king's message was read, stating the necessity of his affairs and demanding a suitable subsidy. Hereupon the Bishop of London (Courtenay) rose, and in strong terms set forth the wrongs done both to himself and his brother of Winchester, and besought the house to grant no money till satisfaction was made. The archbishop, afraid of offending the duke, would fain have postponed the matter, but the whole house took the matter up and refused any subsidy, and maintained their position so firmly that the mandate forbidding him to appear in London was revoked; he returned to Convocation and was received with all possible marks of respect. The temporalities were not restored, because Gaunt had given them to the young Prince Richard by way of compensation for the wrong he had tried to do him, but they were restored six months later on Wykeham's engaging to fit out three ships of war, each with fifty men-at-arms and fifty archers. A week later Edward III. died.

The bishop, finding himself again at peace, at once set himself to a work which he had been contemplating before his troubles began, and which now he saw fresh hopes of carrying out. He saw how the number of the clergy had been of late reduced by repeated pestilence and famine,[1] and how the religious instruction of the people had fallen off in consequence,

[1] The chroniclers give a description of a frightful famine in 1353.

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and he determined, after devout invocation of the Divine assistance, to remedy this by helping poor scholars in their clerical education, and establishing two colleges of students for the increase of God's worship, for the propagating of the Christian faith, and for the improvement of the liberal arts and sciences. He had planned this soon after coming to the see, and had bought the land in Oxford. In Winchester he agreed with one Richard Herton that for ten years he should diligently instruct in grammatical learning so many poor scholars as the bishop should send him, and the bishop agreed to provide him with a good assistant. It was, in fact, a mark of Wykeham's beneficence that he did not delay his good deeds till the time of his death, when he could keep his money no longer, nor leave to the care of others what he felt he could do better himself. The Duke of Lancaster's persecution threw him back, but now he was ready at once to begin afresh. His plan was already complete in his own mind. It was no less than to provide for the perpetual maintenance and instruction of 200 scholars, to afford them a liberal support, and to lead them through a perfect course of education—from the first elements of knowledge through the whole circle of the sciences. Two establishments, one subordinate to the other, were to compass all this. It was a plan as original as it was noble, and he began to deal with Oxford as he had done with Winchester; in fact, he had made some start before his deprivation; he would not wait until his buildings were finished, but gathered his students, found a governor for them, provided

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their lodgings, and laid down their code of management. The king's patent giving him leave to build is dated June 30, 1379. He published his charter of foundation the November following, in which it is called *Seinte Marie College of Wyncestre in Oxenford.* But it was popularly called "New College," and the popular name has been adopted, and remains. The building was finished in six years, and was opened with much solemnity April 14, 1386.

In the charter of St. Mary's Winton, bearing date October 20, 1382, Thomas Cranley is nominated as the first warden. The first stone was laid March 26, 1387, and it was opened with great ceremony March 28, 1393, twenty years after the first foundation. It was opened at once with its full complement of seventy scholars, and continued all along to furnish members to New College. At first it was ruled by a master and under-master, then it was committed to a warden. The first nomination of fellows was made by the founder in 1394.

Thus was a Bishop of Winchester the founder and establisher of the magnificent system of the great public schools of England. We have seen how one led the way in the great Cistercian movement, how another started the Preacher Friars. No fewer than three stately colleges of Oxford attest the piety and greatness of three prelates of this see, and the first endowed college at Oxford was the work of a native of this diocese (see Appendix C, under "Basingstoke.") The most ancient of all the existing foundation schools in England is also the most beautiful to look upon, standing on the south side of

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the city, without the walls, between two branches of the Itchen which flow through the cathedral precincts. It is thus secluded from all the din of the city, and to the beholder from any of the hills which stand about Winchester, its proud isolation, and, at the same time, its conscious pride of lying near the cathedral and giving and taking additional glory thereby, seem to assert themselves. The open meadows on the south stretch down to St. Cross and beautiful Twyford. Yet, though so goodly to look upon, there is nowhere anything like useless ornamentation. Indeed, it is a characteristic of Wykeham's work everywhere that all his decoration was made to serve some useful purpose.[1] In the present case it was needful to make his foundation safe from attacks. It was outside the city walls, its treasure-chest would be ofttimes filled with money and with plate and jewels for the altar. And not only from robbers, but from unruly students there was possible danger. The east was secured by the brook. On the north he drew a long wall of 300 feet; to the west was the back of the stables and another long wall which turned at the south to the brook again. The northern wall, facing the king's highway (which had the conventual grounds of St. Swithun's Priory on the opposite side) had one entrance only, a gateway which led into a large forecourt. Round this were brew-house and bake-house, malt and flour-rooms, slaughter-house, stables; for the ancient monastic economy provided for all articles of use and consumption within its own walls. Oppo-

[1] See an excellent paper on Wykeham's architecture by Mr. Cockerell, in the *Archæological Transactions*, 1845.

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site the first gateway was another, which led into a quadrangle, 120 feet by 110 feet, around which the college buildings were grouped. Between these buildings and the river were gardens. The school buildings present a marked characteristic of Wykeham's work. The outer walls are bare of ornament, because they were for defence; but the school buildings form a beautiful and dignified feature in the view, especially from the Giles Hill side. At the south-east portion of the quadrangle is the chapel, adjoining which is the muniment tower; west of this was the school, and refectory above it, and again west of this, forming the south-west corner, the cellar, the buttery, the bursary, audit-room, library rose one above the other, and reached the entire height of the chapel. Thus all the dignified offices of the college formed one imposing line of some 200 feet long, convenient as regards access, effective to look upon, and economical in point both of space and cost. Over the inner gateway was the Warden's house, thus commanding a view of both quadrangle and forecourt, and he had a private way and bridge on the east side, so that he could go out for a walk without the scholars knowing that they were not in his sight.

Twenty-six years after Wykeham's death his steward, John Fromond, completed the cloisters south of Wykeham's buildings. They were, perhaps, part of the founder's original intention, and were intended for the retired walk of the studious in wet weather, for lectures, for processions, and for memorials of the dead. Subsequent alterations will be

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mentioned hereafter; but it may be convenient to notice here, though its date is of the sixteenth century, the famous picture of the "Trusty Servant," so well known to all visitors to Winchester. It is in the west side of the inner quadrangle, painted on a board, and represents him in a closely-buttoned blue coat and bands, with a pig's head, an ass's ears, a deer's feet. His mouth is padlocked; his right hand held up open; his left hand has a broom, dust-pan, labour-fork, and shovel. A belt round his waist carries a sword, and on his left arm is his buckler. By his side is the founder's arms, with his famous motto beneath, "Manners makyth man." Underneath this curious figure are the following inscriptions :—

Effigiem servi si vis spectare probati,
Quisquis es, hæc oculos pascet imago tuos.
Porcinum os quocunque cibo jejunia sedat,
Cervus habet celeres ire, redire, pedes.
Læva docet multum tot rebus onusta laborem,
Vestis munditiem, dextera aperta fidem.
Dat patientem asinus dominis jurgantibus aurem;
Hæc xera consilium, ne fluat, cacta premit.
Accinctus gladio, clypeo munitus, et inde
Vel se vel dominum quo tueatur habet.

A trusty servant's portrait would you see,
This emblematic figure well survey.
The porker's snout not nice in diet shows;
The padlock shut, no secret he'll disclose;
Patient, the ass his master's rage will hear;
Swiftness in errand the stag's feet declare;
Loaden, his left hand apt to labour saith;
The vest, his neatness; open hand, his faith.
Girt with his sword, his shield upon his arm,
Himself and master, he'll protect from harm.

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These verses appear to have been written by Christopher Johnson, who was head-master, 1560–1571. Wykeham's well-known motto will be understood by our remembering that "manners meant not the outward actions of a man, but his *ethos*, his innermost life. Let the man's outward circumstances be what they may, himself and not his accidents, make the man,—'Virtue alone is true nobility.'"

The government of the college was carried on in entire conformity with the founder's statutes, except so far as the Reformation brought changes, until the year 1857; but the history of this great institution, its splendid trophies in the names of illustrious men who have been educated there, and present scheme of government, hardly belong to diocesan history.

It is a proof of the great influence which he held, that he was called on in many cases to arbitrate in serious disputes. Thus, in a quarrel which arose at Canterbury in consequence of Archbishop Sudbury claiming authority over St. Augustine's, and coming there in his pontificals and with his cross carried before him, which claim the abbot firmly resisted, Wykeham was appointed by the Pope to judge the matter. This, however, was ended by the murder of the archbishop in Wat Tyler's rebellion. In 1382, King Richard sent Wykeham with six other commissioners to settle a somewhat similar dispute between the Priory of St. Frideswyth and the University of Oxford, when he decided for the Priory. Again, he was appointed to mediate between the fellows of Oriel when they had quarrelled over the election of provost, and he persuaded them to come to terms.

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His renovation of Winchester Cathedral was the last great work of his life. Architecturally, it is second to none of his work. It will be remembered that Bishop Edyngdon began the restoration of the nave. This work Wykeham now took up. Professor Willis, whose masterly work the reader should have with him in walking through the glorious church, points out that Wykeham pursued a different course from his predecessor, and thereby produced "one of the most curious instances of transformation from one style of architecture to another that has been preserved to us." It will be remembered that the nave, as Edyngdon found it, was Walkelyn's work, it was remarkable for having the nave, triforium, and clerestory, all of equal height. It is so in his transepts, as they still exist. Now, Edyngdon had begun his work at the west end by pulling down Walkelin's building. Wykeham, instead of this, *transformed* it from Norman to Perpendicular by leaving the Norman piers and placing new mouldings upon them. Mr. Willis elaborately shows how the Norman work may be observed as Walkelin wrought it, behind Wykeham's fresh shafts.[1] But whereas at first Wykeham contented himself with cutting perpendicular mouldings upon the edge of the undisturbed Norman stones, he afterwards changed his plan and entirely encased the Norman piers with new work. This will be seen by the careful student of architecture who compares the seven piers of the

[1] This is very carefully and clearly exhibited by the engraving at p. 71, copied at p. 10 of Murray's "Handbook of Winchester Cathedral."

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nave on the south side, beginning at the west, with the other four on that side, or with any of those on the north.

The deposition of Richard II. in 1399 was followed by the elevation of Henry IV., the son of Wykeham's inveterate enemy, John of Gaunt, to the throne. But Wykeham had now arrived at an age when he had little to fear, and little inclination to oppose. He withdrew himself from Parliament, nothing loth, and confined himself entirely to the work of his diocese, and to preparation for his end. But he was now revered more than any man in the kingdom, and probably it was with a view of gaining his friendship that the king, having contracted a marriage with Joan of Burgundy, met her at Winchester, and had his magnificent nuptials celebrated in the cathedral. For the first two years of Henry IV.'s reign, Wykeham was continually moving about from one part of his diocese to another. In 1401 he was obliged to procure another bishop to ordain for him, though he was present. He had, ten years before, provided himself with a dispensation from the Pope enabling him to take to himself one or more coadjutors, without advice or consent of the archbishop or of the convent of Winchester, and they were to be removed or changed at his will. But he did not avail himself of it until January 4, 1403, when he ordered it to be publicly read, after which he nominated Nicholas Wykeham and John Elmer as his coadjutors. His will was signed July 4, 1403, and, certainly, no better proof could be given of the strength of his

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faculties than this document furnished. It is clear and far-seeing, and allots the sum that he holds to be necessary for the finishing the cathedral. And whereas in a few cases he left legacies, and then, according to his old habit, sought to do good during his lifetime rather than after his death by paying these legacies himself, he afterwards made a codicil acquitting his executors in respect of these. He had always been noticed to be deeply earnest in his commemoration of the dead, and this part of the public worship would move him to tears. The same feeling shows itself in his will. He had already founded a chantry of five priests at Southwick, to pray for the souls of his parents, and had paid £200 to the chapter of Windsor for the yielding of 20 marks a year, to pray for the soul of Edward III. and the rest of his benefactors. He founded his own chantry in the cathedral, fixing the place himself as being that which he had loved to pray in when a child. He left £200 to the poor in certain prisons, and remitted to the king a debt of £500. All the religious houses in his diocese receive legacies, and his heir, Sir Thomas Wykeham, has 600 marks a year.

Bishop Lowth thus sums up the account of his good deeds:—"From the time of his being made Bishop of Winchester he abundantly provided for a certain number of poor, twenty-four, at the least, every day; not only feeding them, but also distributing money among them to supply their necessities of every kind. He continually employed his friends, and those that attended upon him, to seek out the properest objects of his charity; to search after those

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whose modesty would not yield to their distresses, nor suffer them to apply for relief; to go to the houses of the sick and needy, and to inform themselves particularly of their several calamities, and his beneficence administered largely to all their wants. He supported the infirm, he relieved the distressed, he fed the hungry, and he clothed the naked. To the poor friars of the orders subsisting on charity he was always very liberal. His hospitality was large, constant, and universal; his house was open to all, and frequented by the rich and great in proportion as it was crowded by the poor and indigent. He was ever attentive and compassionate to such as were imprisoned for debt; he inquired into their circumstances, compounded with their creditors, and procured their release. In this article of charity he expended 3,000 marks. The roads between London and Winchester, and in many other places, when they were very bad, and almost impassable, he repaired and amended, making causeways and building bridges at a vast expense. He repaired a great number of churches of his diocese which were gone to decay; and moreover furnished them, not only in a decent but even in a splendid manner, with books, vestments, chalices, and other ornaments. In this way he bestowed 113 chalices, and 100 pairs of vestments; so that the articles of this kind, few in comparison, which we find in his will, were only intended by way of supplement to what he had done in his lifetime; that those churches of his patronage, which he had not had occasion to consider before as objects of his liberality, might not, however, seem to be wholly

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neglected by him.[1] Besides all this, he purchased estates to the value of 200 marks a year in addition to the demesne lands of the Bishop of Winchester, that he might leave these memorials of his munificence of every kind."

Though too infirm to walk he was able to receive people till four days before his death, which took place at Bishop's Waltham "on Saturday, September 27, about eight o'clock in the morning, in the year 1404." He had reached his 80th year. His body was carried in solemn procession to Winchester and buried at the foot of the altar where as a child he had loved to pray, and his beautiful chantry and tomb are preserved from age to age by the pious care of his sons, the Wykehamists.

[1] The churches to which he thus left benefactions by will were Witney, Farnham, Cheriton, Havant, and Burghclere (to all which he bequeathed a full set of altar vestments for priest, deacon, and sub-deacon, together with a cope and chalice), and Fawley, Crawley, Alverstoke, Bishop's Waltham, and Droxford, which received a cope and a chalice each.

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CHAPTER X.

CARDINAL BEAUFORT.

WHEN John of Gaunt's wife, Blanche, died in 1369, he committed his children to the care of Katharine the young widow of Sir Hugh Swynford. He soon after married Constance, the daughter of the king of Castile, but all the while was keeping Katharine as his mistress, and she bore him four children. Constance dying in 1394, he made Katharine a tardy recompense by marrying her, and in 1397 he procured a papal bull legitimatizing her children. They were named after Beaufort Castle in France, where they were born. The first, John, became Earl of Somerset, the second, Henry, as soon as he was legitimatized, was made Bishop of Lincoln (1398). When his half-brother and namesake Henry became king, Bishop Beaufort's hopes naturally rose. He supplanted Arundel as chancellor in 1403, and next year, on Wykeham's death, was made Bishop of Winchester, being yet not thirty years of age.

The jealousy between him and Arundel was openly shown when the archbishop, who in 1407 resumed the Great Seal, caused the patent of the Beaufort legitimatization to be renewed, but inserted in it a *new clause*, excluding them from the royal

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dignity. An important addition plainly showing how the land lay between the two prelates. From that time the Beauforts were on the side of the Prince of Wales, who all through the reign had led a party against his father. Shakespeare implies that Beaufort encouraged Prince Hal in his youthful excesses. That he was guilty of such there is clear evidence. Beaufort has had to suffer the terrible fate of being set up before men in Shakespeare's everlasting pages, as a villain. "He is consigned," says Dean Milman, "to everlasting torment, by a decree, as far as the estimation of mankind, more powerful than papal. His death of despair, described by Shakespeare, painted by Reynolds, is indelibly imprinted on the mind of man." The Bishop of Chester has shown that there is good reason to share in Milman's dissent from Shakespeare's verdict, but the early years of Beaufort were certainly what the poet calls them, "lascivious and wanton." He had a daughter by Archbishop Arundel's sister, who married Sir Edward Stradling, of Glamorganshire. Through the reign of Henry IV. Beaufort was on the Prince's side, always a foe to Archbishop Arundel, and a supporter of the Commons House of Parliament in its opposition to his persecution of the Lollards.

When, on March 20, 1413, Henry V. became king, Beaufort once more became chief minister. The beginning of his ministry brought him into union for once with Arundel. Sir John Oldcastle was tried for heresy, and Beaufort, as one of his judges, had no choice but to join in his condemnation. But it must have been most distasteful to him, not only because

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he disliked the statute, but because Oldcastle was a friend and a most useful servant of the king. His escape from the Tower, we may hazard the belief, was not without Beaufort's connivance. Arundel died, and Chicheley succeeded him, and Shakespeare seems to be right in making the new archbishop urge the French war on the king in order to turn his thoughts from the proposed attacks on the Church. A sop was thrown to the Cerberus of anti-clericalism in 1414 in the seizure of the revenues of the alien priories to the king's use. (See Appendix B.)

The battle of Agincourt was won on the 16th of October, 1415; the nation was delighted, but money had to be raised to carry the war on. The Bishop of Winchester lent the king, on the security of certain customs at Southampton, a sum equal to £150,000 of present money. He had been bishop for thirteen years and chancellor twice, but this would hardly account for his command of so large a sum. Shakespeare calls him a usurer, and it seems likely. Then he went away as a pilgrim to Palestine, returning by way of Constance where the great council had been sitting since November 5, 1414. Invested with a quasi-sanctity as having just returned from pilgrimage, he was able to procure the election of a new Pope, and Cardinal Colonna became Pope Martin V., and showed his gratitude for Beaufort's good offices by nominating him cardinal. The King of England was highly offended, and under Chicheley's advice premptorily forbade Beaufort to assume the dignity. But uncle and nephew remained on friendly terms, and when Henry V. started for France in 1421,

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Beaufort made him another loan of £14,000. The bishop, says Bishop Stubbs, "must have acted as a contractor on a large scale," he could not have found the money out of his own resources.

Henry died, and was succeeded by a child nine months old. An internecine war began between Beaufort and Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, Henry Fifth's youngest brother, who had been left Protector. Humphrey, though a genuine patron of learned men, was an ambitious, selfish, godless man; the cardinal was ambitious too, but he was more of a statesman than Gloucester, and was far-seeing enough to know that his policy would bring disaster on the country. For two years the struggle between the rivals continued, until Gloucester, in his anger and jealousy, sent the Londoners to attack the bishop's palace at Southwark, and Beaufort, in disgust, withdrew from the council and followed Bedford to France. Three years later the whole fortune of the war was changed by the appearance of Jeanne d'Arc at Orleans. After a short career of victory, by means of which she was able to witness the coronation of Charles VII., she was captured in 1430, and next year was burnt at Rouen, in the presence of the Bishop of Winchester. On December 17, 1431, the Cardinal crowned Henry VI. at Paris as king of France, but it was felt both by him and Bedford that it was an empty and useless show. His old enemy still persecuted him, so did Margaret of Anjou. But a more powerful destroyer of his influence was his old age. He could fight no longer now, and he retired to Winchester to prepare himself for death. So also

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did the Duke of Gloucester, whose power, what remained of it, was shattered by the conviction of his wife of sorcery. Beaufort was charged, but without the smallest foundation or probability, with having compassed Duke Humphrey's death. A month later than his rival, April 11, 1447, the cardinal died at Wolvesey.

Thus it will be seen that the history of Cardinal Beaufort is a chapter of the history of England; for he was a statesman, and "the only Englishman of his day who had any pretensions to be called a politician." Yet his episcopate proper is not altogether a blank. His additions to the hospital of St. Cross made it like a new foundation. He provided for two chaplains, thirty-five poor men, and three nurses under the name of "the almshouse of noble poverty." Its annual revenue amounted to £188. He built the master's house, and the noble hall and gateway. The collected and pious tone of his will, the last codicil of which is dated but two days before his death, is a sufficient refutation of Shakespeare's representation that he died in blank despair.

> "Lord Cardinal, if thou think'st on heaven's bliss,
> Hold up thy hand, make signal of thy hope.—
> He dies, and makes no sign!"

In this will he gives directions that he shall be buried in the spot which he has already marked out in the cathedral, that his funeral shall not be celebrated in too pompous a manner, and that masses shall be said each day by his grave for the souls of his parents, brothers, sister, and John, Duke of

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Bedford. He leaves £200 to the prior and convent of St. Swithun, and remits a debt of £356. 13s. 4d. to St. Augustine's at Canterbury; £400 are to be given to poor prisoners and 2,000 marks to his poor tenants, to be "distributed by some men of good conscience according to the nomination of his executors, and they are to be paid for their trouble as to the executors shall seem reasonable. To the king he leaves the gold cup out of which his father usually drank and drank his last draught. His daughter, Joanna Stradlyng, receives £100 and some rich plate; his servants £2,000 between them. The rest is to go to poor religious houses, to the marrying of poor maidens, and to succouring the poor and needy. In the first codicil he gives £1,000 to the convent of Christchurch, Canterbury, of which they are to give £300 to paying off a debt on their manor of Bekesbourne, the rest is for the fabric of the cathedral, and £200 are left to Lincoln Cathedral.

His burial-place is rightly called by Milner "the most elegant and finished chantry in the kingdom." Inscribed upon it is the touching scroll, "Tribularer si nescirem misericordias tuas."

During this episcopate Henry VI. several times visited Winchester. His love of literature and his pious and devout habits found ever fresh delight in the college and cathedral. It was here that having come in 1440, glad to escape from the tyranny of the Duke of Gloucester, he commissioned Cardinal Beaufort to release the Duke of Orleans, who had been long a prisoner in England, one of the acts for which Gloucester so furiously denounced

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the cardinal. But Henry's principal object, at this time of his life, in visiting Winchester, was to learn the economy and curriculum of studies established by Wykeham at St. Mary's College, inasmuch as he was now planning his college at Eton, near his palace of Windsor. He founded along with it King's College, Cambridge, as Wykeham had founded New College, Oxford; and he made William Waynflete, who was head-master of Winchester, his first provost at Eton. He was at Winchester also when Margaret of Anjou landed at Porchester in 1445, and met her at the Abbey of Titchfield, where, probably, Beaufort married them. On this occasion the king gave to the college "his best robe but one lined with sable." He came again to visit the cardinal on his deathbed, and again, next year, to the installation of his successor, when he gave handsome gifts to the cathedral and the college.

In this episcopate the "Fraternity of the Holy Cross" is said to have been established. It set up crosses in many parts of the kingdom. The "Butter Cross," as it is commonly called, in Winchester High Street, is probably one of them. At Westmeon there is an open space surrounded by trees, among them a very fine yew, which is still called "The Cross." It is so called from a cross which stood there, and which was removed by Sir W. Waller's army in 1644.

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CHAPTER XI.

BISHOP WAYNFLETE.

THE successor of Beaufort at Winchester was WILLIAM OF WAYNFLETE, the son of a gentleman of that village in Lincolnshire. He was educated at Wykeham's Colleges at Winchester and Oxford, and in 1429 was made head-master of Winchester. Beaufort presented him to the mastership of St. Mary Magdalen's Hospital, and, on the foundation of Eton by Henry VI., the king made him head-master, and afterwards provost. This was in 1443; he was inducted by the Earl of Suffolk, and Bekyngton, Bishop of Bath and Wells, as the king's commissaries. On Beaufort's death, the king was urgent on the prior and convent to elect Waynflete. Here is the account of the election which took place on April 15th, four days after Beaufort's death:—"After the mass 'De Spiritu Sancto' had been solemnly performed in the church of St. Swithun, and a bell tolled according to custom, the prior, the sub-prior, the archdeacon of Winchester, and that of Surrey by his proxy, with thirty-seven brethren, all professed monks and in holy orders except three who were young, met in the chapter-house. The word of God was then propounded, and they implored devoutly the divine grace by singing

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the hymn 'Veni, Creator Spiritus.' A protestation against the presence or voting of any unqualified person was read by the prior, and the constitution-general 'Quia propter' by Dr. Wilton. Immediately when this was done, they all, without any debate, on a sudden with one accord (the Holy Ghost, as they firmly believed, inspiring them), directed their suffrages to Waynflete, and elected him, as it were with one voice and one spirit, for their bishop and pastor; and, instantly singing 'Te Deum,' and causing the bells to ring merrily, they went in procession to the high altar of the church, where Dr. Wilton, by their order, published the transaction in the vulgar tongue to a numerous congregation of the clergy and people." He was consecrated at Eton on July 13th following, on which occasion the college of Winchester presented him with a horse, which cost £6. 13s. 4d. In the following December he held his first ordination at Eton by licence from the Bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese Eton was.

Next year Waynflete obtained a royal grant, empowering him to found a hall at Oxford, to be called after St. Mary Magdalen, for the study of divinity and philosophy, to consist of a president and fifty poor scholars, graduates. The name was probably taken from his first preferment at Winchester. The foundation took place in the presence of the king and the archbishop, August 30, 1448, and the records tell how the king was filled with emotion, and how Waynflete presented the archbishop with the costly cope which was used at the ceremony, and £100 in money. But the foundation did not long

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remain a hall. The land on which it was founded belonged to the Hospital of St. John the Baptist. The bishop only bought part of it at first, but soon afterwards, large gifts from friends having come in, he obtained permission to convert the rest of the property into a college; in consequence of which the Hospitallers surrendered their entire possessions to the society of Magdalen Hall, that society undertaking to support the existing number for their lives. In this manner was Magdalen College established.

The loss of our possessions in France led to an important addition to the Winchester Diocese. Up to this time the Channel Islands had been attached to the see of Coutances. It was impossible that they could so remain with any peace after Coutances had passed from English rule, and therefore Henry VII. obtained a Bull from Pope Alexander VI., dated January 20, 1500, separating the islands from that see, and attaching them to Salisbury. This was afterwards altered to Winchester. But from some cause, which does not appear, the transfer was never made until 1568, after the Reformed Liturgy had been established in the islands (see hereafter, p. 175).

In the great struggle between York and Lancaster, Waynflete from first to last was on the side of the House of Lancaster, and it speaks well for the generosity of Edward IV., that, appreciating Waynflete's loyalty to the fallen Henry, he in no wise bore hardly upon him. Soon after his accession he visited Winchester, in the course of a western progress, paid particular attention to the venerable

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bishop, and gave him money for his newly-founded college. There had been a dispute between the bishop and some of his tenants at East and Westmeon, and it seems that they were mean enough, in putting the case before the king, to hint at Waynflete's antipathy to him. But they missed their mark. The king referred the case to his lawyers, who, after examination, declared that the bishop was entirely in the right. It is yet more remarkable that Edward did not set his countenance against Waynflete for showing his undiminished partisanship for Henry, when, under the protection of the king-maker, Warwick, he was brought forth from prison and restored to his throne for a brief moment in 1471. That Waynflete did so is shown by a special pardon being accorded to him at the end of that year. He received many marks of kindness from Edward after this, and was often at court.[1] The Winchester people seem steadily to have adhered to the Lancastrian party, for Queen Margaret was marching thither for help, when, hearing how her champion had been routed at the battle of Barnet, she fled to sanctuary at Beaulieu.

During all these sad years Bishop Waynflete's episcopal duties were performed most zealously. He held ordinations at Marwell, Southwark, Waltham, Esher, Mottesfont, Romsey, besides in his cathedral. When cares of State took him away he was assisted by his suffragan, William of Sidon, a monk of St.

[1] There is an interesting account in Chandler's "Life of Waynflete" of a visit of the king to him at his new college in 1481.

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Augustine's, who had been appointed to the like office by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1468. The religious houses were carefully visited by the bishop. After a very close examination of the morals and conversation of Hyde Abbey in 1471, he dismissed the abbot on a pension of £50 a year. The monks of Selborne gave him much trouble. Wykeham, in 1387, had severely admonished them, and endeavoured to make them conform to their institution; but they had neglected his admonitions, and Waynflete, in 1462, found their numbers reduced and their premises ruinous, and he sequestered their revenues to repair the priory and its appurtenances. But it was of no use; the society still dwindled, no prior nor regular canon was resident, great scandal was given to the neighbourhood, and the rents and profits were being appropriated by laymen. In 1486 a papal bull, after many ineffectual endeavours, was obtained, conveying the revenues to Magdalen College. In fulfilment of the wish of Bishop des Roches, the founder, the society agreed to maintain at Selborne one chantry priest to pray for the souls of all the benefactors of the College. He was allowed two chambers adjoining to the chapel for his residence.

The venerable bishop took the most loyal interest in his kind patron's foundation at Eton, and spent much money in furnishing what poor King Henry had been forced to leave incomplete.

In 1476—the same year that William Caxton came back to England with the first printing-press, and set it up in the Almonry at Westminster—some lands and houses in his native town were bequeathed to

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Waynflete. The old man, now altogether retired from State matters, was keen as ever for the education of the people, and he immediately seized on the opportunity to plant grammar learning in his birth-place, and so extend knowledge through the northern provinces of the kingdom. He, therefore, set about preparations for a school and chapel there, and placed a certain sum in the hands of the President of Magdalen to pay £10 a year annually to the master. There is still a small stipend and ten acres of land, besides a rent-free residence, belonging to Waynflete's Grammar School at Wainfleet.

The unhappy Wars of the Roses came to an end at Bosworth Field in 1485. Up to that year Waynflete, deeply loved by his people, had moved about from place to place in his diocese, but he now withdrew to Waltham to prepare for his departure out of this life. He was often visited by the President of Magdalen, and continued to give his instructions concerning his college. He did not live to see the peace cemented by the marriage between the two rival houses. In his will, dated April 27, 1486, he declares that he is panting for the life to come, and that he perceives the day of his departure to a better world to be nigh at hand. He lived, however, until the 11th of August following, and was buried in his cathedral, and his beautiful tomb is kept in repair by Magdalen College.

The See of Winchester had now been filled for 120 years by three prelates only. Within the same space of time following there were thirteen.

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CHAPTER XII.

THE BEGINNING OF THE TUDOR TIMES.

HENRY VII. is described by Mr. Green as promising at first the reign of a poetic dreamer, and as remaining even to the last imaginative and adventurous. "He dreamed of crusades, he dwelt with delight on the legends of Arthur, which Caxton gave to the world in the year of his accession." It was a curious illustration of this temperament that he set his heart on naming his first son Arthur, after his hero, although every Lancastrian sovereign hitherto had been called Henry; and further, when his wife's confinement was near at hand, he brought her to Winchester that the hoped-for prince might be born in the castle which legend had attributed to Arthur, and where his supposed Round Table was. The royal arms of Henry, his wife, and this son are in the Lady Chapel, which was being rebuilt at this time. Probably this indicates a thank-offering for the birth.

On the death of Bishop Waynflete, King Henry caused PETER COURTENAY, Bishop of Exeter, to be elected, he and his family having been very zealous for Henry against Richard III. His episcopate was uneventful. He had done much for Exeter Cathedral, and some very beautiful work of his and his successor's times is in the cathedral at Winchester,

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though it is rather associated with the names of the priors than with those of the bishops. THOMAS LANGTON, who came next, was, like all the great Churchmen of his day, an ardent supporter of "the New Learning." He had studied at both universities, had been Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, Master of St. Julian's Hospital, Southampton, Bishop first of St. David's then of Salisbury. Now that he was translated to Winchester, he not only fostered the college there, but he collected a number of youths, whom he caused to be educated in the palace, especially in grammar and music, and himself examined them in the evenings, that he might reward those who acquitted themselves best. The most promising of them he sent to study in Italy. He was himself renowned for learning, piety, and prudence in business, and, when Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, died, was elected to succeed him, when he suddenly died of the plague (1500).

Thus it happened that the two sees of Canterbury and Winchester were vacant together, and this gave the cathedral monks of the former a claim to ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the latter. They exercised it by sending a deputation to visit the Winchester monastery. Perhaps they had heard of the expensive works which the prior, Silkstead, was engaged in or meditating, and thought that he was about to exceed his income. The report of the deputation stated that that the number of monks was thirty-five, and their annual income £1,000. No abuse is hinted at, and the beautiful work of the prior in the cathedral went on.

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RICHARD FOX, the next bishop, was a native of Ropsley, a Lincolnshire village. After studying, like his predecessor, at both universities, he had gone to Paris about the time when Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, had gone to ask the aid of the French king against Richard III. Becoming known to Bishop Morton, who was there in exile, and one of Henry's staunchest friends, he was introduced to the earl, and on this and many subsequent occasions he rendered Henry substantial services, and became his most confidential adviser and friend. On Courtenay's translation to Winchester, Fox had succeeded him at Exeter, then had gone to Bath and Wells, then to Durham.[1] As his patron, Morton, had been the instigator of the marriage of Henry and Elizabeth of York, so Fox, while at Durham, negotiated that of James IV. of Scotland with Henry VII.'s daughter Margaret. Consequently, when Winchester became vacant, Henry, wishing to have Fox near him, procured his election.

His episcopate was one of great beneficence. He founded a free school at Taunton, another at Grantham,[2] near his native village, helped the abbey of Glastonbury when it had sunk into poverty, gave largely to the re-edification of St. Mary's Church at Oxford when it was ready to fall down, and helped very many poor scholars at the university. When he had been Bishop of Winchester nine years, his godson succeeded to the throne as King Henry VIII. But

[1] See "Annals of Durham," p. 203.

[2] One of the *alumni* of Fox's school at Grantham was Sir Isaac Newton.

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the mighty changes which his reign witnessed belonged to a later period than the days of Bishop Fox, and the good prelate pursued an even course to the end. In 1513 his greatest work, after he had long considered it, was set on foot—the foundation of Corpus Christi College at Oxford. His first idea was to make it a nursery for the monks of St. Swithun at Winchester, for all students were to have professed in the cathedral convent before admission, but he afterwards changed his mind, on the advice, it is said, of Oldham, Bishop of Exeter,[1] and determined to make it a place for secular students. And in pursuance of this plan he obtained licence to "found a perpetual college for the learning of the sciences of divinity, philosophy, and good arts, for one president and thirty scholars, graduate and not graduate, or more or less according to the faculties of the place, on a certain ground between the house or college of Merton on the east side, &c., and withal that he might endow the said college with £350 yearly." All this being arranged, the foundation charter came forth, whereby the pious founder "doth to the praise and honour of God Almighty, the most holy Body of Christ, and the Blessed Virgin Mary, as also of the Apostles Peter, Paul, and Andrew, and of St. Cuthbert,

[1] "What, my lad!" he is represented as saying, "shall we build houses and provide livelihoods for a company of bussing monks, whose end and fall we ourselves may live to see? No, no; it is more meet a great deal that we should have care to provide for the increase of learning, and for such as by their learning shall do good to the Church and Commonwealth."—HOLINSHED, *sub anno* 1518.

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St. Swithun, and St. Birinus found and appoint this college, always to be called CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, for one president and thirty scholars, or more or less according to the ordinations and statutes to be made and composed." The first president was his friend, John Claymond; one of the first scholars was Reginald, afterwards Cardinal, Pole. Three lectures were to be given by three of the fellows each week on "humanity" (*i.e.*, of the classics, as opposed to "divinity") on Greek, and on divinity.

Ten years before his death, Bishop Fox became blind, and retired from court to his diocese. He had some time before recommended his chaplain, Thomas Wolsey, to the king's favour, and is said to have remained long enough to be disgusted with Wolsey's growing insolence. In his retirement at Wolvesey he still showed himself generous and hospitable as ever; the poor were fed and clothed, and the trade of the city was promoted through his large establishment; he kept 220 men servants. And withal he ceased not to preach with great earnestness in his cathedral, and to excite his clergy to the same duty. The decoration of the cathedral owed much to his pious care; his works there, says Bishop Milner, "have hardly been equalled in their kind, and never surpassed." His spirit remained unbroken under the pressure of age and infirmity, and it is said that, when Wolsey in his boundless cupidity wished him to resign his bishopric to him for a pension, the bishop answered, "that though he could no longer distinguish white from black, yet could he discriminate right from wrong, truth from falsehood, and could

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well discern the malice of an ungrateful man; and he went on to warn him that his ambition would prove his ruin, and that he had better attend closer to the king's business and leave Winchester to the care of its bishop." However, Wolsey had his will in 1528. Fox died, and was buried in the beautiful chapel which he had founded in his cathedral for the purpose, and Wolsey took the see. His episcopate, so far as Winchester is concerned, may be called a blank. He never visited the cathedral, but was installed by proxy, and the only use he made of his power was to dissolve certain monasteries and churches, in order to confer their possessions on the magnificent colleges which he was building.

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CHAPTER XIII.

THE REFORMATION PERIOD.

JUST a year after Wolsey's death Stephen Gardiner was consecrated to the see of Winchester (December, 1531). He is said to have been the illegitimate son of Bishop Widville of Salisbury, and, therefore, nephew of the queen of King Edward IV. As with most of the prominent men of that troubled period, controversy rages round his name; he was a devil incarnate according to Bale,[1] an angel according to Pitts.[2]

He was born about 1483, studied at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and became an excellent scholar, and so expert in civil and canon law that Burnet relates that afterwards King Henry, in his hot eagerness for the divorce, would not suffer the proceedings to be begun

[1] "Script. Brit.," p. 685. John Bale was rector of Bishopstoke, and a great favourite of King Edward VI. A false report of his death being spread abroad, Bale took advantage of the king's visit to Southampton to show himself, and the king, overjoyed at seeing him still alive, made him there and then Bishop of Ossory. Fuller calls him "the angry, stinging wasp."

[2] "De Illustr. Angl. Script.," 748. Pitts figures much in the State Papers dated from Winchester. He was a Recusant (see *post*, p. 178), who escaped from Winchester gaol, and fled abroad, where he wrote the work we have referred to in defence of his co-religionists.

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before the two cardinals, Wolsey and Campeggio, until the return of Dr. Gardiner from Rome, so much did he rely on his judgment. Of his proficiency in Divinity both Burnet and Collier have but a moderate opinion. On leaving Cambridge he first entered the household of the Duke of Norfolk, and afterwards became Wolsey's secretary, and here he attracted the king's notice by his conversation and fertility of expedient. The cardinal, who was never jealous of rising greatness, pushed the young man on, and both king and minister showed their confidence in him by choosing him as ambassador to Pope Clement in the matter of the divorce. His successor, Poynet, in his spiteful work, "A Treatise of Political Power," says that he betrayed the cardinal, but all evidence is against this. Loyal to Wolsey he certainly was to the end, and on this occasion he not only boldly admonished the Pope of the danger he ran by his double-dealing,[1] but he also did all he could to secure his master's election to the vacancy which seemed imminent through Pope Clement's illness. He returned to England in May, 1529, and was received very gratefully by Anne Boleyn, whose letter of thanks, in which she addresses him as "Mr. Stephens," is in the State Paper Office.

He is said by Strype to have been the means of procuring by his clever address the opinion of the University of Cambridge in favour of the divorce, and to have received his bishopric as a reward. He sat with Archbishop Cranmer in court, when the

[1] Burnet's "Reformation," vi. 17.

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latter pronounced the marriage of Catharine null and void (May 23, 1533). In the same year he went to France to demand in the king's name an appeal to a general council. The great controversy of the supremacy was now at its height, and Gardiner was called upon with the other bishops to acknowledge the king as supreme head of the Church. Not only so, but he was commanded to defend the doctrine, and he wrote his celebrated sermon "Of true Obedience" and other works vindicating the divorce, the marriage with Anne Boleyn, and the repudiation of the Roman dominion. Here, then, we have Gardiner's position defined, a position not unknown in this our day; repudiating the Pope's supremacy, he held firmly the rest of the Roman Catholic doctrines, and in this latter point he never showed any signs of yielding. In 1535 the suppression of the monasteries began. The smaller, that is, all whose revenues did not exceed £200 a year, were first dealt with, as being confessedly the more corrupt. But four years later the larger institutions were similarly treated, and the property passed into the hands of the king, who professed, in the new statutes attached to the cathedrals, to hold it in trust for the service of God and the religious teaching of the people. The last prior of Winchester Cathedral, William Kingsmill, surrendered all the monastery lands to the king in 1539, half terrified, half led by covetousness. Next year Henry instituted a new chapter, consisting of a dean and twelve prebendaries, Kingsmill being the first dean. Winchester, therefore, reckons as one of the "new foundations." Had King Henry been true to his

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professed purpose, it had been a happy thing for England. The monasteries had done their work and had become altogether overcrowded. As places of religious retreat a tenth part of them would have sufficed; as places of learning the colleges had supplanted them. But all this had no more to do with the motive of spoliation, than that it won the sanction of public opinion against the monasteries. The real object of the king was absolutely base; the monasteries were defenceless, and he wanted money. He talked big of founding twenty-three new bishoprics,[1] and he founded six; and before long the profanity and rapacity of the whole business were so apparent that a cry against the iniquity arose on every side.

The fate of each religious house in the diocese is given in Appendices B and C; and other notices of them, which will be found by means of the Index, occur incidentally in the course of this history.

The fierce struggle between Gardiner and Cranmer belongs to the history of England rather than of Winchester, and we therefore pass over the rest of King Henry's reign. The latter, it is said, intended at one time to make Gardiner one of his executors, but afterwards, when his will was freshly drawn, the bishop's name was omitted; and the king is said to have replied, when urged to insert it, that "if he was one he would trouble them all, and they never would be able to

[1] In the Act of Dissolution, Southampton, Guildford, and the Isle of Wight were places named for sees of suffragan bishops.

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rule him." Probably Gardiner's warm friendship for the Norfolk family, the subjects of Henry's last enmity, may account for this. Let it be added to the bishop's credit, that whatever the usage may have been which he received from the king, he showed upon all occasions high respect for his memory, and uttered no reproaches against him.

On the accession of Edward VI., January 28, 1547, his uncle, Lord Hertford, was made Protector, receiving the title of Duke of Somerset. At once was seen how strong the restraining hand of Henry had been as regards religious revolution. The sermons at Paul's Cross denounced images, holy water, and fasting, and Archbishop Cranmer "did publicly eat meat in Lent." At Portsmouth the revolutionary party broke into the churches and destroyed all the images. Gardiner, who had already remonstrated at having to accept a renewal of his episcopal commission from the new king's hands, and who was now excluded from the Council, entreated Somerset to pause in a career which might bring ruin on the country as well as himself. The king was but a child, he reminded him; it was not right, therefore, to start novelties, more especially as the country was full of speculations, not merely between Catholic and Protestant, but on the very truth of the divinity of Christ. Foxe gives a long correspondence between Gardiner and the Princess Mary on the one side, and the Protector on the other.[1] Probably the latter was largely helped by Cranmer. It is skilfully conducted all round, both sides make strong points, but few will

[1] Foxe, vol. vi. pp. 1–86 (Stoughton's edition).

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doubt that Gardiner's entreaty to moderation and caution was wise and seasonable, and that the minority of a king was not the time for a revolutionary movement. However, his advice was not taken. In obedience to injunctions issued by Somerset, images, stained windows, roods and roodlofts, were cast down, and church walls were whitewashed, all whilst these things represented the Christian religion to the great majority of the people.

Gardiner was committed to the Fleet, and he who had once tried to destroy Cranmer, was in turn the victim of injustice; but feeling that the imprisonment of Gardiner was endangering his own popularity, Somerset released him, and he returned to his diocese, where he at once set himself to counteract the mischief wrought by the itinerant preachers, who, sanctioned by the Government, went from parish to parish ridiculing the old faith. He declared that they were endangering the peace of the country to such an extent as to compel him to arm his servants in self-defence. This was afterwards brought against him, as though he had taken arms against the government, whereas in a very short time the government also took the alarm, and silenced the nuisance. Gardiner, however, was sent for again to London, and, though sick, he came. Somerset ordered him to preach before the Court on the matters in controversy. Next he was furnished by the Protector's secretary, Cecil, afterwards to become so famous, with the heads of the sermon he was to preach and the doctrines he was to maintain. Gardiner indignantly declared that his conscience was his own, not

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the Protector's; and, being further pressed, he declared that he should preach what he believed, though he were hanged at the foot of the pulpit; and that he wished the Protector would leave religion to the bishops, and cease to meddle with what he knew nothing about.

The sermon was preached on St. Peter's Day, 1548, and is not pleasing to read. Foxe gives it at length, and both enemies and friends of the bishop will claim it as establishing their own convictions. The former will call it a sermon worthy of "Mr. Facing-both-ways"; the latter will see in it the characteristic marks of a man who goes a good way in sympathy with the reform movement, but who hates the destructive elements developed under Somerset. It does not indicate a magnanimous intellect, or one likely to lead public opinion; but to arrest the preacher as a malefactor against the public peace was an act of sheer tyranny. He was seized at Winchester House next day, on the ground of having disobeyed Somerset's orders, and was carried to the Tower. Here, according to his own account, he lay for a year, "without any manner of word, comfort, or relief." He made many appeals to "have an Englishman's liberty to hear what law or statute he had broken," and called those about him to witness that, when his appeals were disregarded, he used no grudging or unseemly words. At the year's end he was brought to trial, and sentence of deposition was pronounced against him, February 14, 1550. Not only so, but he was kept prisoner in the Tower, some comforts hitherto granted were taken

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from him, and pen, ink, and paper were forbidden him henceforward. And here the old man languished until King Edward was in his grave. The man who was appointed to succeed him, JOHN POYNET, was but too fitted to represent the religion and morals of the ruling power. He had been Cranmer's chaplain, and a very useful one, for he was a man of great learning, possessing what was in those days a rare accomplishment, namely, a thorough knowledge of Greek. To a wide acquaintance with foreign languages was added mechanical skill sufficient to construct a clock, which told not only the time, but the day of the month and the age of the moon. He was consecrated to the bishopric of Rochester, the first under the new ordinal, in 1549, and was at Cranmer's right hand during the whole of the religious movement in the first year of King Edward. Besides having a large hand in drawing up the first Prayer Book, he was probably the sole author of Cranmer's Catechism.[1] And this is all that we know in his favour. Mention has already been made of his "Short Treatise of Politic Power." Hallam says of it, that it is "closely and vigorously written, deserving in many parts a high place among the English prose of that age, though not entirely free from the usual fault, vulgar and ribaldous invective." Not entirely free, certainly, seeing that some parts are so horribly disgusting as to be unquotable. This is part of his description of his predecessor, Bishop Gardiner: "He hath a swart

[1] Letter of Sir John Cheke to Bullinger, June 7, 1553.

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colour, hanging look, frowning brows, eyes an inch within his head, a nose hooked like a buzzard, nostrils like a horse, a sparrow mouth, great paws like the devil's talons on his feet," &c. He calls Bonner a "bloody, lying, arch-butcher bastard." Cardinal Pole he calls "Carnal Phoole." Another of his books was his "Defence for Marriage of Priests," a position which no English Churchman cavils at. But he carried out his principle not only by marrying twice, but by also persuading a butcher's wife of Nottingham to leave her husband and live with him.[1] She, being at length divorced from her husband, was married to Poynet at Croydon three months afterwards. This is the man who, on the 23rd of March, 1551, was intruded into the see of Winchester, purchasing it by alienating from the see the palace of Marwell, with the manors of Marwell, Highclere, Bitterne, and Twyford, which were given to the Protector's brother, Henry Seymour.[2]

[1] Burnet questions the truth of this, on the ground that Martin, who answered Poynet's book on marriage, does not mention the scandal. But the omission only proves that he did not know of it. Since Burnet's time two MSS. have come to light, and have been printed, which prove the truth beyond doubt,—"The Chronicle of the Grey Friars," and "The Diary of John Machyn." The latter tells how he was present when Poynet was "devorsyed from the bocheres wyff at St. Powles," and had to pay annual damage to the butcher.

[2] He was such a hideous ruffian, that the Protector dared not bring him to London, but he lavished plunder upon him. On one occasion he rushed forth from Marwell into the church of Owslebury, and dragged forth the priest, who was celebrating the Holy Communion. The priest, on being liberated, returned to the church and solemnly denounced the sacrilege, whereupon

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The palace of Waltham with its estates were conferred on Paulet, Earl of Wiltshire, who soon after procured for himself the title of Marquis of Winchester. The cathedral and surrounding churches were relentlessly rifled, for few parts of the kingdom were more magnificently furnished with religious implements than Winchester. Presents given by Canute, and Emma, and Egbert were seized without ruth, and cast into the melting-pot for the mere value of the metal of which they were made.

On the 4th of July, 1553, King Edward died. On the 3rd of August Mary came to the Tower, on the 8th Gardiner said mass for the king's soul before her, whilst Cranmer was burying his body in Henry VII.'s Chapel. Next day the bishop returned to Winchester House, after a captivity of more than five years. On the 23rd he was declared Chancellor of England; on October 1st he crowned the queen at Westminster; and (Cranmer being by this time in the Tower for high treason) on the 5th he opened the queen's first Parliament. Poynet, filled with terror and rage, joined Sir Thomas Wyat's attempt at revolution; and on its failure fled beyond sea, and died at Strasburg in April, 1556. On the 19th of July, the first anniversary of Mary's accession, Philip of Spain landed at Southampton with 160 sail. Here he stayed four days, "attending mass and drinking beer," says the chronicle, while the queen removed from Windsor to Winchester. On the 23rd Philip came to Winchester, and was the guest of the bishop

Sir Henry's servants, by his order, shot him dead. Seymour's children, both sons and daughters, all came literally to beggary.

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at Wolvesey; and on the 25th, St. James's day (the patron saint of Spain), the marriage of the ill-matched pair was celebrated with great pomp at the cathedral.

After a most unhappy year Philip left her for ever, and three months later Bishop Gardiner, the minister on whom she had relied most, was removed from her by death. He died at Whitehall Palace, November 13, 1555, lay in state at Winchester House, and was buried in his cathedral. Fuller says that he died "more than half a Protestant, avouching that he believed himself and all others only to be justified by the merits of Christ." Certainly he was but half a Romanist during his whole career. He went with Henry in the question of the supremacy, and would have been well content with that settlement so long as the doctrines of the priesthood and the sacraments were left intact. He never receded from his position as the author of the Six Articles Bill, and his hatred of the Reformation was embittered by the hard and unjust usage he had received. For the rest he was faithful to his queen and earnest in his desire to restore the ancient faith. He was succeeded by Dr. JOHN WHITE, a native of Farnham, who had been educated at Winchester School, and had afterwards become Warden. Gardiner, in 1553, had consecrated him Bishop of Lincoln. He was a learned and religious man, and an eloquent preacher, but his episcopate is a sad one to read of. In the persecution four persons were burnt in this diocese: Gratwick, Morant, and King, in St. George's Fields, Southwark (May, 1557), and Thomas Benbridge, a gentleman of position, at Winchester (July,

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1558). In his agony at the stake he recanted and was taken back to prison, but afterwards withdrew his recantation and was burned that day week.[1] The name of John Philpot is also closely connected with the Winchester diocese. He was a native of Twyford, became a learned Hebraist, and was made by Poynet Archdeacon of Winchester. He was one of the chief witnesses against Gardiner on his trial, and afterwards was one of the ablest of the Protestant disputants, and when thrown into prison by Bonner defended himself with both skill and dignity.[2] But he was burned to death at Smithfield.

The unhappy life of Queen Mary came to an end at daybreak, November 17, 1558. Later in the same day Cardinal Pole also died. One of the first results in the Winchester diocese was the deprivation of the bishop.

His first public act on the accession of Elizabeth had not testified to his wisdom. He preached a funeral sermon on Queen Mary, and, taking for his text Eccl. iv. 2, he spoke in the highest terms of her generous disposition, her gravity, her devotion, her patience in death. Here "he fell into such unfeigned weeping that for a long time he could not speak." If he had quite broken down it would have been better, but recovering himself, he proceeded to say that they were bound to make the best of her successor, because "a living dog was better than a dead lion," after which he returned to his text, and pronounced the dead queen better than the living. Being called to account for the insult, he hotly made answer that

[1] Foxe, viii. 315–320, 490.

[2] See a very full account in Foxe, viii. 605–711.

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if the queen interfered with the present settlement of religion he would excommunicate her.

Refusing the oath of supremacy, he was deprived, and with him went the Dean, Edmund Steward, Prebendaries Harding and Langrish, Chancellor Martin, Hyde and Marshall, Master and second Master of the School, Marvyn, Archdeacon of Surrey, and the Master of St. Cross. The deposed bishop retired to his sister's house at South Wanborough, and died the next year. Four of the above-named were deprived, the others appear to have been let alone.

The see of Winchester was not fortunate in its next bishop, ROBERT HORNE. He had been Dean of Durham,[1] had fled abroad during the persecution, and returned a fiery Puritan. He was consecrated by Parker, February 16, 1560–61, and held the see for twenty years. His episcopate was characterised by wholesale destruction all over the diocese, as well as at New College, of missals, stained windows, and rich architecture. He pulled down Wykeham's beautiful chapter-house, and sold great quantities of lead off the cathedral, in order to indemnify himself, as Dr. Milner believes, for the property of his bishopric, which he had conveyed to the courtiers. Winchester fell into decay and poverty.

Another passage in Horne's episcopate is the following:—Bonner, on being deprived of the bishopric of London for refusing the oath of supremacy, was sent as a prisoner to the Marshalsea. This being within the diocese of Winchester, Horne, as his

[1] Northumberland, in a letter dated 1552, calls him "that peevish dean."—State Papers, Edw. VI., xv. 62.

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diocesan, once more tendered him the oath; and his refusal on the third tender was construed into high treason. But Bonner cleverly pleaded that Horne was not a bishop according to law, inasmuch as the ritual of Edward VI., according to which he had been consecrated, had been abrogated by the Parliament of Mary, and had not since been restored. This was quite true. It was an oversight, and a fresh Act had to be passed, abrogating in turn that of Mary. The delay saved Bonner from the penalty of treason. Horne probably found that public opinion was against him, so Bonner was left to die quietly in prison instead of at the gallows.

In 1567, a body of Walloons, who had fled from the cruelties of the Spanish Inquisition established in the Netherlands, came to Southampton, and begged an asylum where they might "live quietly and Christian-like," and exercise their calling. "Lest, however, their coming should appear noisome and their occupations new and strange" (so they expressed themselves), they put down their wishes in writing. They wished to have a church assigned them, where they might have a service in accordance with the doctrine of the Church of England, to be allowed to exercise their own trade, and to have houses at reasonable rent (they beg the influence of the Corporation with owners not to raise their rent above the average of the last two years). After some delay the request for the church was granted on the recommendation of Bishop Horne,[1] and a congregation was

[1] He writes to Cecil, June 30, 1567, that "they have under-

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established in the Chapel of God's House, with the sanction of Queen's College, Oxford, to which that institution belonged. The register begins December, 1567. The Walloons were joined by co-religionists from Northern France, and some of the entries in the early registers are very curious and interesting. For many years the management was conducted on Presbyterian principles, but there arose a desire to conform to the Church, and in 1712 this was accomplished, and continued. To this incumbency is now added the chaplaincy to seamen.

The religious history of the Channel Islands at this period is characteristic of the struggles which were everywhere going on. We have already seen how these islands had been nominally joined to the Winchester diocese. On the publication of King Edward's Prayer-book, it had been translated into French for the islands, and had been proscribed under Mary. On the accession of Elizabeth, the islands became a refuge for great numbers of the French Huguenots, harassed out of their own country, and these forming their worship on the model of Geneva, took possession of the parish church of St. Helier, and petitioned the Queen to establish their use in all the other churches. This petition failed, of course; Elizabeth allowed them to keep St. Helier's, but in all the other parishes the English service was strictly enjoined (letter of Aug. 5, 1565). The order was disregarded, and the other churches followed St. Helier's, and this gave

taken that no corrupt religious acts or opinions shall be encouraged among them."

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great encouragement to the Puritans in England, who sent two leading Nonconformists,—Cartwright and Snape,—who called a synod of all the islands (June 28, 1576), where "a form of clerical discipline" was drawn up, which was countenanced by the governors of the islands, who took advantage of it to sweep the revenues of the deaneries both of Jersey and Guernsey into their own coffers.

Horne's successor, JOHN WATSON, had been educated as a physician, and had taken the degree of Doctor of Medicine, but afterwards was ordained and became Master of St. Cross. He was consecrated to the bishopric September 18, 1580, but died three years afterwards.

A letter from the Warden and Fellows of Winchester College to the queen, dated March 13, 1581–82, throws a curious light upon the state of the Church. It states that at her request they have given a lease for forty years of the parsonage and rectory of Downton, Wilts, to Her Majesty, understanding that she means to confer it on Mr. Wylkes, clerk of the Privy Council, in consideration of the service done to the Queen and the Realm, but they "doe most humbly desyre and beseeche that her Matie will make stay of the lyke suites to be hereafter tendred" by any person unto her highness, and they request her to give letters of assurance on this point, in order "to discharge them of the hasarde of the decay of their mayntenance, the hurtynge of soe worthye a foundation and the burden of their consciences being sworne to the preservation thereof as far forthe as the authorities of

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their founder might extende and their oath as dewtifull subiectes maye be measured by her majesty and the lawes of her Realme in that behalfe provided." And therefore they once more "beseeche her Majestie to have a gracious consideration of their psent estate, and as a trew mother of all vertew and good learnyng to yeeld them a speedy defence against all other attempt that may be intended to the opening of so large a gappe as by this their extraordinary graunte unto her ma^tie may hereafter by her authority be entered into."[1]

The next bishop, THOMAS COOPER, was translated from Lincoln, and held the see for ten years. He seems to have been recommended to the queen on the ground of being the author of a Latin Dictionary, but Godwin testifies well of him,—"A man from whose praises I can hardly temper my pen." His personal life was marked by heavy sorrow, a sorrow like that of the prophet Hosea, and he bore it in the like holy spirit. "If it be saintlike," writes Sir John Harrington, "to live unreprovable, to bear a cross patiently, to forgive great injuries freely, this man's example is sampleness in this age." Cooper, talking to Archbishop Whitgift about the dignity and value of their respective sees, is said one day to have repeated Edyngdon's witticism (see *ante*, p. 123). A courtier, however, who heard this, whispered to another bystander, "It might be so in old days, but, the rack standing so high in sight, it will be found fit to keep it full, but the bishop shall find that very much provender hath been swept out of the manger.'

[1] State Papers, Elizabeth, vol. clii.

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Dr. Milner puts down to Bishop Cooper's discredit that in his days, for the first time in the reign, capital punishment took place on the score of religion. The fact is so; but the cause was not the bishop, but the new Act, and that, as we have seen, grew out of the queen's deepened danger. Cooper's appointment to Winchester synchronises with the beginning of hostilities with Spain. Mr. Green says that under the Act of 1581, "no layman was brought to the bar or the block. The work of bloodshed was reserved wholly for priests, and under Elizabeth this work was done with a ruthless energy which for the moment crushed the Catholic reaction." Dr. Milner, however, gives a very different account as regards the laity. After declaring that there were some poor Catholics who were publicly whipped through Winchester because they could not pay the fine as recusants, he goes on to say, that through Bishop Cooper's means two schoolmasters were apprehended, named Slade and Bodiam, both laymen; that they were both convicted and executed at Winchester on the sole indictment of denying the queen's spiritual supremacy and asserting the supremacy of the Pope. He acknowledges that some writers, *e.g.*, Wood, make Bodiam a priest, but cites Rishton (a Roman Catholic writer) on the other side. He also tells how Ralph Milner, "a poor but honest and moral man," of Winchester, having a wife and seven children, was condemned for aiding and abetting a missionary priest, named Roger Dickenson, from Rheims. The judge humanely offered him his life if he would but attend the services of the Established Church, but he refused the condition. At

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the place of execution, his seven children were brought to him, that the sight of them might melt his constancy; but, instead of yielding to the suggestions of nature, he deliberately gave them his last blessing, and declared that he could wish them no greater happiness than to die in the same cause in which he was about to shed his blood. His authority for this story is the manuscript account of one Stanney, of St. Omer. The same author proceeds to tell how seven maiden ladies were tried for harbouring Dickenson, that when the sentence of death was pronounced against them they were filled with joy, and that when a reprieve came they wept because they could not share their pastor's death. This, also, is from another manuscript account, as is also the story of James Bird, hanged and quartered, at the age of nineteen, for having become a papist. He names on manuscript authority the following priests as having been executed at Winchester:—John Mundyn, Robert Anderton, William Marsden, Roger Dickenson.

The Record Office contains, among numerous accounts of the recusants, a manuscript in Bodiam's hand stating his opinions, and the examination of some witnesses who knew him and Slade. One grieves over the sufferings of men whose crime was faithfulness to their religion, but the nature of the evidence given in the papers referred to goes to show that they were in sympathy with what widely disseminated Roman tracts had said concerning the lawfulness of taking the queen's life. Thus, in the State Papers is an inventory of the things found in the cells of the recusants at Winchester. They comprise the articles

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needful for the celebration of mass, and a number of devotional and controversial works on the Roman Catholic side, among which "in Slade and Body's chamber" is Mr. Allen's "Defence of English Catholics." This treatise was an argument that it was lawful to kill Queen Elizabeth. This ought always to be borne in mind. The Spanish Armada, as we have seen, proved the loyalty of English Roman Catholics. But it could not disprove the fact that the Roman Catholic Church, as represented by the Pope, aimed at the deposition and even death of the Queen of England. The English nation had come to believe that the papal claim was a usurpation, and was determined to make war upon a system which sought to back this usurpation by the weapon of the assassin. As years went on, and it was seen that the souls of the English Roman Catholics revolted against such principles, persecution died out, and not until then. The State Papers are full of minutes of proceedings against recusants and discoveries of "papistical books and popish stuff" in many villages.[1] Bishop Cooper, for example, writes to advise that those recusants who remain obstinate, and have no money to pay the fine, shall be sent to

[1] The following statistics of recusants in the various counties in 1582 is copied from the State Papers, "Elizabeth," vol. clvi., No. 42:—London and Middlesex, 64; Essex, 105; Kent, 22; Sussex, 43; Norfolk, 51; Devonshire, 6; Cornwall, 23; York, 327; Durham, 10; Cumberland, Northumberland, and Carlisle, 31; Worcestershire, 71; Warwickshire, 7; Southampton, 132; Surrey, 65; Oxfordshire, 73; Herefordshire, 63; Somersetshire, 11; Salop, 30; Derbyshire, 64; Staffordshire, 72; Cheshire, 41; Lancashire, 428: Total, 1,939.

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Flanders "to be employed as pioneers and labourers, and so this country shall be disburdened of a company of dangerous people." Meanwhile, it is curious to note that one of the most celebrated families in Hampshire which has remained Roman Catholic to this day, and concerning which complaints are constantly found in the State Records, so satisfied the Government, apparently, of their loyalty, that they continued to exercise their religion at home unmolested, and within the memory of persons lately living have been even allowed to celebrate mass from time to time in the parish church.[1] These were the Tichbornes. The name will be long familiar in the memory of this generation in consequence of the celebrated trials of 1871 and 1872. Tichborne House is in the parish of Cheriton.[2] There were branches of the family at West Tisted, at Avington, and at Owslebury.

Bishop Cooper, while busy in fighting against the recusants, was engaged in controversy also with the Puritans. The "Martin-Marprelate Tracts," begun in 1588, were an appeal to the people against the repressive measures of the government towards the Calvinistic party; and though, as their title indicated, they aimed at "marring" the bishops, they had great

[1] The stone altar remains there to this day.

[2] The mention of Cheriton gives us the opportunity of mentioning also the "Gospel Oak" in the north-west corner of the parish. In the old days of Rogation-days "perambulations," the Gospel used to be read under this tree on such occasions. The perambulations or processions were clung to by the people after the changes in religion. The Homily for Rogation Week speaks of them; so does Geo. Herbert in his "Country Parson."

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effect in also marring the hitherto absolute power of the Crown. They were issued from a secret press, which after a while was seized, and of the two principal originators one died in prison, and one, a minister, on the scaffold. Against these some answers appeared, meeting scurrility with scurrility, some in rhyme, some in prose. Bishop Cooper took up the controversy, with gravity and elaborate argument, in his "Admonition to the People of England," and drew on himself a storm of furious and coarse invective. One of the rejoinders to him is entitled, "Have ye any work for the Cooper?"

He died, April 29, 1594, and was succeeded by a second WILLIAM OF WICKHAM, who followed him from Lincoln. He died, however, within ten weeks, and is buried in St. Saviour's, Southwark.[1] During this short time, however, he took courage to tell the queen, in a sermon he preached before her, that should the see of Winchester suffer as much rapine during the next thirty years as it had suffered during the thirty years she had now reigned, there would not be left sufficient income to keep the roof on the cathedral. He was followed by WILLIAM DAY, Provost of Eton, whose episcopate was also a very short one, for he died September 20, 1596. Next came Dr. THOMAS BILSON, a native of Winchester, but of German descent. He was educated at Winchester and New

[1] His wife was daughter of William Barlow, Bishop of Chichester. She had four sisters, who were all married to bishops, one to the succeeding Bishop of Winchester, Day. The fact is commemorated on the monument to Barlow's wife in the very pretty church of Easton, near Winchester.

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Colleges, and was made successively Warden of Winchester College, Bishop of Worcester (1596), and Bishop of Winchester (1597). His great learning and ability had recommended him to the queen, who, when taking up the cause of the Netherlanders in their revolt against Philip, commissioned Dr. Bilson to write in their defence, while yet allowing no pretext for resistance to her own subjects against herself. Bilson undertook the job,—it hardly deserves a better word,—and wrote his treatise, "Of the true difference between Christian subjection and unchristian rebellion; wherein the prince's lawful power to command and bear the sword is defended against the Pope's censures and Jesuits' sophisms, in their apology and defence of the English Catholics.[1] Also a declaration that the things reformed in the Church of England by the law of this Realm are truly Catholic, against the late Rhemish New Testament." It is a thick 8vo., and was published in 1585. It won him his mitre, and answered the queen's purpose for the time being; but, says Wood, "it did much contribute to the ruin of her successor, Charles I. For there is not any book that the Presbyterians have made more dangerous use of against their prince than that which his predecessor commanded to be written to justify her against the King of Spain."[2]

[1] This refers to William Allen's "Defence of English Catholics," of which mention has already been made.

[2] There is a letter of Bilson to Cecil in the Record Office, dated "Waltham, November 5, 1599," which has great interest in Hampshire history. The fine old manor-house of Woodcote,

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As bishop, he wrote two treatises, "Of the Perpetual Government of Christ's Church," an argument in favour of episcopal government; and "On the Descent of Christ into Hell," in answer to some who had attacked this article of the Creed. His explanation is that Christ went to the lost to assure them of the terrors of the judgment to come.[1]

in the parish of Bramdean, was held by Antony Uvedale, on the service of the safe keeping of Winchester gaol. He was a Roman Catholic, a near neighbour of the Tichbornes, and he now, according to the bishop's view, finding his conscience outraged by having to keep recusants in custody, made over his duty along with the manor to his grandson, a child of seven, whose father and mother are both recusants. The consequence is, says the bishop, that the recusant prisoners have been feasting and enjoying themselves mightily, and one Kenyon, who confessed himself "a seminary priest," and whom the bishop had committed to prison in the previous September, has been allowed to escape when about to be tried for high treason. And the recusants have had liberty to go home and earn a living for their wives and families, merely returning when the time of the sessions came; then, their trial being postponed for a more convenient season, they have gone home again, and so it has gone for ten or twelve years in some cases. The bishop thinks this ample ground for confiscating Woodcote to the Crown. And next year he writes again to complain that nothing has been done to punish Uvedale.

[1] Bishop Bilson took a leading part in the Hampton Court Conference. He spoke on *lay-baptism*, affirming that "it was a maxim in divinity, that the minister was not of the essence of the sacrament;" on *Confirmation;* and on *inefficiency of the clergy*, which he said was chargeable partly upon lay patrons who presented mean clerks, and partly upon the indulgence of the law, which allows very slender qualifications; and, if the bishop refuses to admit them, a *quare impedit* is presently issued against him."

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CHAPTER XIV.

THE FIRST STUARTS.

BISHOP BILSON was succeeded by James MONTAGUE, who was translated from Bath and Wells, but died two years afterwards[1]; then came LANCELOT ANDREWES, the greatest Bishop of Winchester since the Reformation. He was born in 1555, the son of a mariner in Thames Street, and was educated at Merchant Taylors' School and at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. His brilliant scholarship soon recommended him for a fellowship, and his lectures on his being appointed Catechist to his College were crowded, not only by members of the University, but by persons coming from a distance. He is said also to have been very successful in converting recusants to the Church of England. His fame soon reached Walsyngham, who assigned him for his maintenance the lease of the parsonage of Alton, Hants, and soon after procured for him the vicarage of St. Giles, Cripplegate. There is a monument in that church with some stanzas subscribed with his name, in the quaint but stately style which marked the poetry of that time. A canonry of St. Paul's and the deanery of Westminster were both conferred upon him during the reign of

[1] He wrote a work in defence of Tithes against Selden. (See Collier, vii. 393–406.)

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Elizabeth. He would not accept a bishopric at this period because he would not basely submit to alienation of episcopal revenue. With James I. he became a special favourite, and was commissioned by him to write an answer to Cardinal Bellarmine, who had attacked a work of the king on the royal supremacy, taking the *nom-de-plume* of Matthew Tortus. Andrewes's answer is entitled "Tortura Torti." In 1605 the king made him Bishop of Chichester, and in 1609 of Ely. During his occupation of this see he was one of the translators of the Bible. In 1618, as we have seen, he succeeded Montagu at Winchester, and was also made Dean of the Chapel Royal.

The traditionary reputation of Andrewes as a preacher is second to none in the Church of England, yet his published sermons would hardly sustain it. Unquestionably his personality had much to do with it. His rare linguistic knowledge (he is said to have been able to speak fifteen tongues), his laborious life, his great generosity, all, no doubt, contributed to his being held in reverence. He is said to have spent five hours a day in devotion.[1] "His parts and knowledge were rare and great," says one of his biographers, "his judgment greater, his holiness and devotion greater than all." Another writes: "He was a diligent and painful preacher, so careful and exact that there were few of his sermons which were not thrice between the hammer and the anvil before they

[1] "He sat late, and arose at four in the morning; not like moderns, at seven or eight. He loved not the things of this world, nor staid until the poor sought him, but he first sought them."

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were preached. He was accustomed to say that when he preached twice a day at St. Giles's he prated once." The meaning of this last saying will be quite understood by any one who examines his sermons and sees how elaborate and highly finished is each sentence. And a third panegyric declares that he was, "Doctor Andrewes in the schools, Bishop Andrewes in the diocese, and Saint Andrewes in the closet. After he had an episcopal house with a chapel, he kept monthly communions inviolably, though he had received at court the same month.[1] He privately complained much of three sins: usury, from which he withdrew many; simony; and sacrilege, wherein the reformed were suffering correction and chastisement from God: and he wished some person would collect an account of the families raised by the spoils of the Church and ruined, so that their place knoweth them no more."[2] Andrewes's "Private Devotions," written both in Greek and Latin, have been translated by Dean Stanhope, by Bishop Horne, and by others, and form one of the standard works in our devotional literature. Bishop Horne also re-wrote many of his sermons.

[1] This is from his funeral sermon by Bishop Buckeridge, or one would imagine some mistake. But the obvious intention of the Church to observe weekly Communion seems to have been greatly neglected all through the seventeenth century. A General Winsor left the interest of £100 to two churches in Southampton, to defray the expense of a *monthly* Communion. In 1718 there were only eleven churches in London, where there was a weekly celebration.

[2] In consequence of this wish, Sir H. Spelman wrote his "History and Fate of Sacrilege."

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The service now generally used at the consecration of churches and churchyards[1] is based upon that drawn up by Bishop Andrewes for the consecration of Jesus Chapel and its burial-ground, on Pear-tree Green, near Southampton, which had been built by one Richard Smith for the population which had sprung up to the east of the Itchen. There is a very full and interesting account of this ceremony in Woodward's "History of Hampshire.

We have now to return once more to the Channel Islands. We saw in the last chapter how the Puritans had taken the law into their own hands, and established Nonconformity there. On the accession of King James, on the false allegation that Queen Elizabeth had sanctioned their new "discipline," they had procured from him a letter confirming it (Hampton Court, Aug. 8, 1603). But a few years later, on the death of one of the ministers, the synod appointed a successor. The Governor and Crown officers protested that hereby both the King's prerogative and revenue were injured, inasmuch as no form of presentation was produced, and first-fruits to the Crown were not paid. Commissioners were sent from England to investigate the case, and the ministers averred that first-fruits had never been paid since the severance from Coutances. On the other hand, it was alleged against them that they would not give the Communion to any who would not subscribe the Genevan regulations, and

[1] There are two previous records of consecration in the London diocese in the same reign; but the form consisted o one prayer. It is given in Collier, vol. vii. p. 382.

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that many were non-communicants in consequence. They had evidently lost touch with the population, and the Governor was constantly gaining suits against them at law. One important decision in his favour was when they refused admission to one Andrew Messering, his nominee to a living, on the ground that he had been episcopally ordained, and that it was sought to bring back Popery. The result was that Archbishop Abbot announced "that for the speedy redress of disorders it was thought most convenient to revive the office and authority of the dean; that the Book of Common Prayer should be reprinted in French, and used in their churches, but that the ministers should not be tied to it in every particular."[1] They were invited to nominate three of their number, from whom the dean should be chosen; but, not relishing the proposal, David Bandinelli, an Italian, Minister of St. Mary's, was recommended by the governor. Abbot examined and approved of him, and he was made dean by letters patent. It was ordered in these letters that the Bishop of Winchester should authorise the dean, under his episcopal seal, to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The people of Jersey acquiesced gladly in this arrangement. At Guernsey there was some further resistance, led by one De la Place, who had taken the governor's side against the ministers, on promise, as he declared, of receiving the vacant

[1] The use of the cross in baptism, kneeling at communion, the surplice, and "the bidding of holy days," were made optional, at Bishop Andrewes's suggestion.

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deanery. He took advantage of the troubles in England to make an opposition to the Liturgy.

One unhappy chapter in Bishop Andrewes's life is thus noted by Bishop Milner:—"Unfortunately for himself he had been, whilst Bishop of Ely, one of the commissioners who declared in favour of the divorce between the Earl and Countess of Essex." One must hope that his judgment rather than his conscience was at fault; but, even at best, this is a sad passage in the history of a good man. A more important and remarkable commission, in point both of theology and canon law, was occasioned by the unhappy accident which befell his metropolitan, Archbishop Abbot. That prelate, while engaged in the uncanonical exercise of the chase, accidently shot a keeper in Bramshill Park, Hampshire. Andrewes was one of those appointed to inquire whether this accident involved the loss of spiritual authority, and, if so, to reinvest him, and he executed the commission.

Let us not pass over one remarkable testimony to the piety of Andrewes, namely Milton's Panegyric,[1] a proof that the great poet was not in his youth an uncompromising hater of Church teaching and ceremonial. The lines in "Il Penseroso" are familiar to us all. But unhappily the tyrannical conduct of the king was associated in the popular mind with the party to which Andrewes belonged. Had the doctrines which Hooker and Herbert

[1] Andrewes had been vicar of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, and it seems to me most probable that the poet and his father, who lived in the parish, came thus to know him personally and to love him.

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taught been allowed to make their way to men's consciences, instead of being hurled at them with the contemptuous words and acts of the Hampton Court meeting, there would have been no rebellion. The warfare made against Calvinism by those whom their opponents named "Arminians" was not based upon Scriptural or ecclesiastical, so much as upon rationalistic grounds, and the protest against the narrow dogmatism which turned the letter of Scripture into a contradiction of the love of the Creator for his creatures, and which contradicted the obvious facts of life and the universal conscience by calling human virtue sin and human reason folly, passed too easily into the setting up of current morality as the arbiter of the divinest matters. The Calvinist's own view was clear to himself, and he had no toleration for any other. He saw Romanism recovering its ground against Protestantism all over the Continent, and could not understand the views of those who were clinging to the old historical Church principles which had been the preservation of the Church of England when other bodies had been entirely cut adrift. Laud, in his eyes, was a "flat Papist;" but not in ours who understand his position. But he was ruined by being yoked with an unpopular monarch, and by using the unpopular machinery with which his position furnished him. And thus, when Parliament erred in holding that every detail of public worship should be under its supreme control, Laud met it by resting on the divine right of the king.

Bishop Andrewes died at Winchester House, Southwark, on the 11th of September, 1626, aged 71. His

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fine tomb may be seen in the Church of St. Saviour hard by. His successor, RICHARD NEILE, was coupled with Laud by the Commons in a vote of censure, as "being inclined to Arminianism, and favouring Popish doctrines and ceremonies." Neile, as far as one can judge from somewhat slight data, was not a man likely to command much respect. He was of humble birth, but, being generously befriended by Lady Burghley, was sent to Cambridge, became chaplain in the Burghley family, and, through the influence of Robert Cecil, became Bishop of Rochester in 1608. He successively filled five other bishoprics,—probably a thing unprecedented,—namely Lichfield, Lincoln, Durham, Winchester, and York. He is described by a contemporary as "a man of no learning, but a good preacher." That he was a flatterer of the king all accounts seem to show. Heylin speaks of him as having much public spirit, but as being of most uncourtly conversation. One shameful story of him comes from a contemporary Puritan writer—namely, that when any man that had the renown of piety preached before King James, Neile, unwilling that the king should listen to him, was in the habit of whispering ribald stories to make the monarch laugh.

On his translation to York in 1631, WALTER CURLE, Bishop of Bath and Wells, succeeded him, an ardent disciple of Laud. He took steps for diverting the traffic through the cathedral, which had been turned into a thoroughfare, by opening a passage on the outside, where the houses had come right up to the tower. The quaint inscription which he caused to be inserted into the wall, pointing out the new

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thoroughfare, is still to be seen in the "Slype." "The holy table was placed in the altar situation, against the eastern screen, and was railed in, and the prebendaries were bound by oath to bow towards it at their going in and coming out of the choir. In addition to surplices, four copes were also provided, which were ordered to be used on all Sundays and holidays. All churchwardens were bound on oath to present to him or his officers clergymen who fell short of his requirements." In Laud's visitation, 1635,[1] Winchester is placed among the sees that are "well ordered."

No account of the religious history of England would be complete without mention of the efforts which were made on behalf of the education of the people, in the period following the great change of the sixteenth century. With the fall of the monasteries much of the intellectual machinery perished for the time being. Something was devoted to education out of the rich spoils, such as the school

[1] One of his queries was whether the Communion Service is read at the Lord's table or at the reading-desk. The latter custom grew until, at the beginning of the present century, it became in Hampshire the regular custom. Crabbe's "Vicar" complains of the innovation:—

> "Not at the altar our young brethren read
> (Facing their flock) the Decalogue and Creed;
> But at their duty, in their desk, they stand
> With naked surplice, lacking hood and band."

The writer knows one church where the rector, after reading the ante-Communion Service from the desk, pulled off his surplice and put on his gown, *coram populo*, then mounted the pulpit and preached a sermon, generally one of Blair's.

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foundations of King Edward VI.; and the great foundation schools of Wykeham and others remained. What needed doing in the country towns and villages became the pious care of private individuals, who, instead of building chantries, left bequests for schools. It is a special characteristic of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as will be seen on the benefaction boards in most of the parish churches. Unhappily, the funds so bequeathed too often fell into the hands of unprincipled persons, who misappropriated them, in some cases for the time being, in others so effectually that they have disappeared altogether. Thus the Lyne School at Ringwood, founded in 1586, was leased away in 1699 by the founder's great-great-grandson for eighty-one years. The lessee mortgaged it, the mortgage was foreclosed, and the charity was at an end. Thus, also, at Alresford, there are records of several charities long since lapsed. Of those still existing there is the Grammar School, founded by Henry Perin in 1696. A house and 52 acres of land were left for the free education of eleven poor tradesmen's sons of Old and New Alresford, four of Bishop's Sutton, four of Cheriton. The master was to be well-skilled in arithmetic, writing, and Latin; and no boy was to be admitted who could not begin Latin at once. At Alton, John Eggar in 1642 endowed a school with what now amounts to £250 a year, for the instruction of twenty-four boys in Greek and Latin. Ten years later, Thomas Geale endowed some almshouses in the same town. The houses remain, but the endowment has disappeared. At Holybourne also, in 1719,

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Thomas Andrewes founded a free school for the children of Holybourne, Alton, Hoyle, and Binstead. The income is now £230 a year. At Andover is a free Grammar School, refounded in 1582, and also a school founded by John Pollen in 1686. The Grammar School at Basingstoke has a very interesting history. "The Holy Ghost Chapel," close to the railway station, appears to have been founded by Edward III. Bishop Fox, in the reign of Henry VIII., obtained royal licence to establish a guild upon this foundation, with maintenance for a priest to serve the chapel and keep school. This was suppressed by Edward VI., but re-established by Queen Mary on the petition of the townsfolk, and in her reign and her successor's some benefactions were left to it. In 1607 Sir James Deane, having often seen Basingstoke "without a good and godly preacher," left £20 a year to the schoolmaster, on condition that he should be a good preacher and a learned scholar, who had graduated in divinity at Oxford or Cambridge.[1] And, in 1618, Sir James Lancaster, whose name is preserved in "Lancaster's Sound," made a large addition to the funds. But, unhappily, the management had by this time fallen into the hands of the corporation, and the aldermen appropriated the rents of the trusts to themselves; and in the reign of Charles I., the guild having become extinct, the charter was declared forfeited, and the Bishop claimed the right of ordinary over the chapel and the clerk. Let us anticipate and carry on the history

[1] He also left £1 a year for repairing the road to the church.

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to the present time. In the siege of Basing, to which we shall come in the next chapter, the chapel roof was stripped of its lead. The foundation was re-established by Bishop Morley, author of so many good works, in 1670. Then came a battle between the crown and corporation as to patronage. The former won, and then it was discovered that several acres had been secured by certain members to themselves. Again and again we have mismanagement repeated. In 1836 a decree in Chancery transferred the management to thirteen trustees, but they did nothing for the school. The master took his money and paid an usher £50 a year for teaching some half-a-dozen poor boys, and this was all the work done. A new scheme in 1852 has proved successful, and this school now flourishes. In the same town is the Blue Coat School, founded in 1646 by Richard Aldworth, who also left £2,000 for the endowment of a weekly preacher. From it the Vicar of Basing receives £60 a year for a Friday lecture. There are endowed schools of the same character at Portsmouth (governed under a scheme of the Endowed Schools Commission), at Romsey, at Southampton (the Grammar School founded in the reign of Edward VI., and Alderman Taunton's School, 1761), at East Tytherley, at Hinton Ampner, &c. Lymington School was founded by George Fulford in 1668, for children to be taught "Latin, Greek, writing, arithmetic, the true Protestant religion, and good life." The funds are now appropriated to the aid of the National School. At South Stoneham a "charity school" was kept going by the

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offertory. The school founded by William Gilpin at Boldre deserves special mention, because of the founder's name. He was the vicar of that parish, died and was buried there in 1778. His beautiful books on "Forest Scenery" are much cherished by book collectors, but hardly more so than his own memory by those who witness his beneficent institutions for the good of his parish and neighbourhood. In his lifetime he established a new poorhouse at Boldre, as well as two schools and a friendly society, for the relief of poor women at Lymington. Political economists are loud in their praises of the wisdom displayed in the first of these, as avoiding both the evils of the old system and the evils of the new.

In 1717 there were thirty-four "Charity Schools" in Hampshire.

The educational institutions of Surrey are of great importance. In Guildford, the oldest is the Grammar School, founded in 1509 by Robert Beckingham, Grocer, of London, and chartered in 1550 by Edward VI. It is under the bishop and trustees. But more important are the good works of Archbishop Abbot, on behalf of this, his native, town. A happy ternion of brothers, as Fuller calls them, were George, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert, Bishop of Salisbury, and Sir Maurice Abbot, Lord Mayor of London. "Gravity," says the same writer, "did frown in George, and smile in Robert." The archbishop founded and endowed his hospital, April 5, 1619, settling lands upon it to the value of £300 a year, £100 to be expended in setting the poor to work, and the rest for the support of

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a master, twelve brothers, and eight sisters. Some legacies have augmented the income since. Under the scheme of government the master must be a single man, fifty years old, a native of Guildford or a resident of twenty years. The brothers and sisters must be not less than sixty, and the same rule applies to their qualifications. The master has £70 a year, and the other inmates 8s. a week. As the funds are sufficient, two more sisters have been added, and a paid nurse. The establishment bears the name bestowed by its founder, "The Master and Brethren of the Hospital of the Blessed Trinity, Guildford." To this hospital the archbishop retired for a while, after accidentally killing the keeper two years after the foundation. His "manufactory endowment" has been consolidated with the Blue Coat School (founded 1557), for the establishment of a middle-class school, which is called "Archbishop Abbot's School."

Sir W. Perkins's School at Chertsey was founded in 1725, and now has an income of £540 a year. The Grammar School of Farnham was endowed in 1611, by Dr. Harding, Principal of Magdalen College, and further by Masters N. and J. Brown in 1657. But it fell into decay until Bishop Morley set it on its feet once more, in 1679. After a long period of waste and disuse it was re-established in 1849. At Kingston-on-Thames a chapelry, founded by Edward Lovekyn and Sir William Walworth, the famous Lord Mayor, who had been Lovekyn's apprentice, was seized by Henry VIII., but was turned into a grammar school by Edward VI. New school buildings have been lately erected, and the

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chapel restored to its sacred use, and attached to the school.

Mention may here be made also of the many benefactions, mostly of the seventeenth century, not only for giving doles of food at certain seasons, but also for granting loans to young men beginning business, and for apprenticing boys. They are common all over England, and indicate the rapid progress of British trade at this period. I have particulars of many such belonging to Hants and Surrey before me, but they hardly belong to ecclesiastical history. The bequest of Henry Smith, citizen of London, is remarkable and unique. He left money to every parish in Surrey except two. Legend tells how he, a rich alderman, determined to go disguised as a beggar through the country, and so to discover how much charity existed among men. His stately monument is in Wandsworth Church.

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CHAPTER XV.

THE GREAT REBELLION.

THE Civil War between Charles I. and his Parliament, began in July, 1642, and virtually ended with the total overthrow of the king, at Naseby, in 1645. Many of the most stirring episodes of that war took place in the diocese of Winchester. In August, 1642, Sir William Waller besieged Portsmouth, which yielded next month; and this was immediately followed by the Parliamentary occupation of the Isle of Wight. On December 3rd, Farnham Castle, which had been placed at the king's disposal by the bishop, was captured by Waller, almost without resistance, and the garrison was sent to the bishop's palace at Southwark, which had been seized by the Parliament for a Cavalier prison. On the 12th Waller appeared before Winchester. Here the Royalists made a fight for themselves, but to no purpose. The wall was broken, the castle seized next day, and the soldiers with great difficulty were restrained from a general sack of the city. It compounded for £1,000, and the soldiers were compensated for their disappointment by being led to the cathedral. They broke in at the western door, while the morning service was going on, and marched up the church with colours flying, drums beating, matches fired. Two troops of

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horse were among them. The Lord's Table was carried to an alehouse and burned, along with the Books of Common Prayer and the choir books. Crosses and pictures were carried about the streets in mock procession, by men in surplices, who blew the pipes which they had wrenched from the organ. The tombs were broken up, and those of the early kings, as well as the bishops, were mutilated; and the windows which could not be otherwise reached by sword or spear were smashed with the bones of the dead. But the outcry of the horrified inhabitants, who rushed in, and declared that they would die before seeing their cathedral demolished, caused Waller to call the destroyers off. Let it be noted to his credit that one Parliamentarian, a Wykehamist, named Colonel Fiennes, was the means of saving, not only the college, but William of Wykeham's monument.

From Winchester Waller marched to Chichester. How the outrages continued on the march is indicated in a register book at Upham Parish Church, where note is made of the expenditure of 2s. at Christmas, 1642, to cleanse the church after the troopers had abused it for a stable for their horses. In 1660, note is made that St. Clement's Church at Winchester has been used as a place to keep hogs in. In March, 1643, Waller again came to Winchester, and, though the city had been so lately plundered, he levied £600 from the helpless inhabitants. The grand old abbey church of Romsey which had escaped destruction in the days of Edward VI., was now in the hands of the zealots. They destroyed the organ, and pulled up the seats,

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"while a zealous brother of the ministry, dwelling not far off, got into the pulpit, and for the space of two hours loudly applauded that religious act." At Southampton, the inhabitants, though with much hesitation, and after threat of bombardment, declared for the Parliament; and the governor, Murford, set his chaplain to preach violently on that side. On the occasion of the taking the Solemn League and Covenant, this divine introduced the following sentences into his prayer:—"Bless the king, O Lord; mollify his hard heart, which delighteth in blood. Open his eyes, that he may see that the blood of Thy servants is dear in Thy sight. He hath sinned, and done evil indeed, but these sheep, what have they done? Let Thine hand, we pray Thee, be on him, and on his father's house, but not on Thy people, that they should be plagued." And much more of the like kind.

But of all the stirring episodes in the whole war there is nothing surpassing in interest the memorable siege of Basing House. A few low walls and a fine brick gateway are seen from the railway at Old Basing, about two miles east of Basingstoke station. The visitor, entering that gateway, will see the stout Marquis of Winchester's arms carved upon it, with his motto, "Aymez Loyauté." Within the walls are some 14½ acres of pasturage, and where these have been excavated ruins of the famous "Loyalty House" have been found. It was not only known to be well stored, but it lay on the great high road to the south and west, and was, therefore, a position of supreme importance.

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Accordingly, in July, 1643, Colonel Norton, with a Parliamentary army, began an attack upon it, Basingstoke being already in the hands of the Parliament. He was so utterly repulsed that the Parliament took the alarm, and Sir William Waller was sent to occupy Farnham Castle with an impressed army, and to make it the base of operations against the Royalist forces in the south. In November he too advanced against Basing, and many an evidence of the fierce fight that ensued may be seen to this day. Thus on the door of the church may be seen the filled-up holes of cannon shot. The roof of the church and of the Holy Ghost Chapel, the ruins of which are so conspicuous close to the railway-station, were stripped of lead to make bullets. But a week's fighting thoroughly cowed the Londoners, who were not prepared for such warm work. They had already grumbled at the discomfort of camping out. They now exclaimed that they were ready to fight men, but were loth to stand against walls; 1,000 of them had been killed, and now 1,200 deserted. On the 13th of November, Waller, thoroughly defeated and disappointed, applied to Parliament for reinforcements. The effect was to encourage the Royalists, and Lord Hopton advanced to Winchester, which became for a time a centre of Royalist activity. With him were the bishop (Curle), Dr. Heylin, the learned Rector of Alresford, and Chillingworth, author of "The Religion of Protestants." The king's party placed a garrison of some 1,300 men in Alton to co-operate with Hopton, under the command of Colonel John Bolles, an ancestor

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of the present Master of Winchester College.[1] Waller skilfully and secretly sent an army thither. The Royalists after a while were driven into the church, churchyard, and an adjacent barn. They ran up scaffolds inside the church windows and began an effective fire. Two hours, and the churchyard was carried, but Bolles, calling on his men, declared that he would hold it till reinforcements should come. But none came, his men cried for quarter, but he himself refused it. At last a shot killed him as he stood in the pulpit still plying his musket bravely. It was on the 12th of December, 1643. "Bring me a mourning scarf," cried King Charles when the news reached him, "I have lost one of the best commanders in my kingdom." The words are inscribed on the brave colonel's monument in Winchester Cathedral. The marks of the conflict are still visible in the church. Whilst this conflict was going on the Cavaliers at Oxford were burning bonfires for joy at the death of John Pym. But a greater disaster to the king's party was the capture of Arundel Castle (January 6, 1644), which Hopton had fortified, but which was taken by Waller with the largest army which had ever entered Sussex since the day of Senlac. Hopton was now at Winchester. His skirmishers were scattered through the villages, his outposts were at Westmeon. To this spot Sir William Waller's advanced posts advanced on March 24, 1644, and here the first fighting took place. In the excavation

[1] Since this was written made Bishop of Southwell.

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of a new turnpike, some fifty years ago, some skeletons were found with weapons by their sides. The Royalists at length, hearing that Hopton had occupied Alresford, retreated under directions towards Cheriton, but not until another skirmish had taken place at West Tisted. Three great mounds by the side of the turnpike road are said traditionally to be soldiers' graves, but they are probably the scene of a much more ancient battle than this. In the parish register of Tisted there is an entry of a soldier's burial killed in this fight. At Cheriton the Royalists were completely discomfited. They left 1,400 dead on the field, while the Parliamentary loss was 900. Winchester immediately surrendered to the victors, and Waller prepared to pursue Hopton, who had retired westwards. A brigade of Londoners, marching through Botley to the village of Wickham, heard that a party of their comrades were besieging 200 cavaliers in the bishop's stately palace at Waltham, and went to their assistance. It fell, but not till after making a brave fight (April 9, 1644). Local tradition states that the bishop was there, and that he escaped in a cart, a layer of manure being placed over him. Two days afterwards the place was set on fire, and has never been rebuilt. The picturesque ruins are still sufficient to show what a stately spot it was. The manor was sequestered, and afterwards sold for £7,999. 14s. 10½d. And now once more Basing House was invested (May, 1644), and a thrilling history of endurance and heroism is afforded us in the contemporary records. For twenty-four weeks the siege lasted, and the brave garrison suffered

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dreadful privations. Then the siege was once more raised. Unhappily some of the garrison had been traitors and revealed to the besiegers the plans of their companions, and this led to the marquis insisting that the garrison should consist of Roman Catholics only, which raised much anger in the minds of many loyal people, and encouraged the Parliamentarians to try once more, and in the middle of 1645 the siege was once more renewed. Meanwhile, Lieutenant-General Cromwell had come to Winchester (September 29) and demanded the surrender of the castle, which was held by Lord Ogle for the king. Hearing that the bishop was in the city, he sent to him that, out of respect for his cloth, he would give him safe conduct out of the town if he chose, and would protect him from violence. The bishop refused, and made his way into the castle, but when the bombardment began sent a message that he was sorry he had not accepted the general's offer and would do so now. Cromwell replied that it was too late, he must take his chance with the garrison. On the 5th of October came the surrender. The bishop and his chaplain, "in their long gowns and cassocks," were "visited for an hour or two" by the fanatic Hugh Peters, and were afterwards suffered to retire unmolested. The bishop retired to his sister's house at Soberton, depending on the bounty of his friends (for his income was all sequestered), and died there in 1650. He is probably buried in the interesting old Norman church there. His city palace of Wolvesey was dismantled at the same time, and still remains a picturesque ruin. This success left Cromwell free to go to

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Basing. The siege was pressed with furious and unceasing vigour, and on October 15 Loyalty House at last fell. Again Mr. Hugh Peters appears on the scene. He had an interview with the stout marquis and tried to convert him, but did not. One of the prisoners was Inigo Jones, a piece of whose work remains in the west door of Basing Church. He was now seventy-two years old, and had to be carried out in a blanket, for his clothes had been stolen. It is very curious to notice that a figure of the Virgin and Child remains over this door with the date 1519. It can hardly be doubted that it must have been removed during the siege and afterwards restored. The plunder of Basing realised £200,000. Many jewels fell to Cromwell's wife, who is said to have been "remarkably fond of these and of Westphalia hams." The brave marquis, we are glad to note, after detention in the Tower of London for a short time, was set at liberty, retired for a while to the Continent, then returned, and died at Englefield in 1674. Milton wrote an epitaph on his wife, and Dryden on himself. Loyalty House was dismantled and has never been rebuilt.[1]

The "Committee for placing well-affected ministers in Hants" was summoned to the Exchequer on August 21, 1643, "six to form a quorum." It is pleasing to note that in a return published that year, of seventeen priests deprived for bad behaviour,

[1] A sermon was preached before the Army, and printed September 21, by William Beech, of which a copy is in the British Museum. Its title is "More Sulphur for Basing." The motto is Rev. xiv. 11, and the text Ps. lxxxiii. 9.

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only one is of this diocese, Paul Clapham, Vicar of Farnham and Rector of Martyr's Worthy; his history, as alleged, is so scandalous, that the less said of it the better. But there were deprivations from time to time on doctrinal grounds. The ordinance for sequestering the estates of the Bishop and other "delinquents," that is those who refused to join the rebellion, is dated February, 1642–43.

Dr. Gawen, rector of Exton and Bishopstoke, and tutor of Curle's children, refused to take the Solemn League and Covenant, and was treated as a "malignant" in consequence. He afterwards became a Roman Catholic. The Vicar of Odiham was turned out of his house into the street in the depth of winter, with the snow on the ground. Some neighbours took in his poor wife just in time before giving birth to an infant. He had offended, apparently, by preaching politics, for it is recorded that, on February 11, 1644, a number of men from the garrison of Farnham "rode into Odiham Church during service, and presented pistols at the minister, protesting that such preaching as his should not be allowed." One pistol was fired, and a woman died of fright. John Hagar was turned out of Chilcomb to make room for Gaspar Binar, and lived in great poverty till the Restoration, when he returned. Hugh Halswell was turned out of the rich living of Cheriton, Dr. Green out of Avington, Samuel Baxter from Dibden, Lamb from Titchfield and Botley, Martin from St. Michael's, Southampton, and Edmonson out of Holyrood, Webbe from Basingstoke, Clerk from Andover, Morgan from Barton Stacey, Flea from

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the Vicarage of Portsmouth, Rolfe from Alverstoke, Lake from Minstead, Bludworth from Westmeon. The story of Lewis Alcock, Rector of North Stoneham, is a very pitiable one. He had been chaplain to Lord Southampton in the days of Queen Elizabeth, and had held his present living for fifty-five years, giving himself entirely to the duties of his cure, saying the service in church with his family every morning between five and six, had rebuilt the church and walled in the churchyard. He lost not only his living under the sequestration in 1648, but most of his private property, an old servant being one of the foremost in rifling his house.[1] In some places the supplanters were received with much disgust. Thus at Hound, a weaver being appointed, some jesters, like Oxford boys at Commemoration, dangled a shuttle from the gallery, then, when his courage failed and he got a saddler to take his place, they put an old saddle in the place of the pulpit cushion. Puritanism was evidently strong in this neighbourhood in the early part of the seventeenth century. The town records of Lymington contain a resolution that any one carrying freightage to the Isle of Wight on a Sunday shall forfeit twopence, and there are orders against "tiplinge, vaine swearinge, and prophanation of the Lordes daie." The old custom of choosing the

[1] Stoneham Church figures at the Restoration. The incumbent, Roger Turner, preached on the occasion a sermon crammed with queer conceits and good sense,—"Ring the bells, but do not make the bell-ropes cords of sin and ropes of iniquity;" "Ye shall not most honour the king who get drunk drinking his health," &c.

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Mayor on Sunday was forbidden (1651). It was, however, resumed again afterwards, and the Mayor continued to be elected on the Sunday after St. Matthew's Day until 1815.

At Elingham and a few other churches there is still a relic of these times, the hour-glass in the pulpit. Walter Marshall, Fellow of New College, appointed by Cromwell to Hursley, was the author of a work on Sanctification, which has been often reprinted, and of which Hervey (of the "Meditations") declared that he valued it next to the Bible. Another nominee of Cromwell's, Thomas Chafie, Rector of Nursling, wrote in advocacy of a return to the seventh-day Sabbath. The persecutions by the party now dominant were by no means confined to the Church clergy. Franklin and Collier, anabaptists, were imprisoned, and a "prophetess" of the same sect was flogged. Portsmouth was made a sort of convict settlement for clergy who refused submission to the Parliament. They were put on board ship, and there hooted and even pelted as they were at prayers, being called Baal's priests.

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CHAPTER XVI.

THE LATER STUARTS.

At the restoration of the monarchy and liturgy nine bishops survived and were restored to their sees. The see of Winchester, which had been vacant for thirteen years, was filled by Brian Duppa, who had been successively Bishop of Chichester and of Salisbury, but who had lived in obscurity during the troubles and had employed himself in writing devotional books,—"The Soul's Soliloquy with Conscience," "A Guide for the Penitent," "Holy Rules and Helps both for Prayer and Practice." Dr. Alexander Hyde, a cousin of Clarendon, was appointed to the deanery. Bishop Duppa was 70 years old at his translation to Winchester, and only held the see for two years. The day before his death (March 26, 1662), the king visited him and received his dying blessing. He is buried in Westminster Abbey. His successor, George Morley, a chaplain of Lord Carnarvon, had won himself a good name as a divine in the early days of the troubles, for he was appointed by the House of Commons preacher of one of the Fast sermons, and a member of the "Assembly of Divines." Evidently, however, he was not to its taste, for, although he was a Calvinist, he was also a loyal subject, and his was the only one of these Fast sermons which was not

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ordered to be printed, and he with Hammond and Prideaux never appeared among the divines. The king had appointed him to a canonry at Christchurch in 1640, but with Hammond he was expelled by Parliament in 1647. Morley's next move led to a series of consequences which form a pleasant chapter in our religious history. Many years before he had formed the acquaintance of Izaak Walton, who lived at the corner of Chancery Lane, but who, broken in spirit both by the death of his wife and children and also by the national troubles, had retired to a small property he possessed in Staffordshire, where he married the sister of Thomas Ken, "Kenna" as he affectionately named her. Here the next few years were quietly spent by the banks of the Dove, and here Morley, on his expulsion, was received as a guest by the gentle angler. He remained there until March 1648–49, when his friend Lord Capel besought him to minister to him on the scaffold, he being condemned to death for loyalty to King Charles. After this Morley left England and joined Charles II. abroad. For three or four years he was at Antwerp, "reading the service of the Church of England twice every day, catechising once a week, and administering the Holy Communion once a month." He then received an invitation from the Queen of Bohemia to be her chaplain at the Hague, and felt bound to accept, she being sister to King Charles I. and in necessitous circumstances, and for three years more he served in the English Church there without gratuity of any kind, not only performing the public offices but visiting the sick, burying the dead, and relieving those whom

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their loyalty had impoverished. At the Restoration he was made Bishop of Worcester, and on Duppa's death succeeded to Winchester, the king foretelling, quite correctly, on his appointment that he never would be one penny the richer for it. He leased out Waltham Park and the tenements which had been built during the Commonwealth on the site of Winchester House in Southwark. But he far outran the money thus brought in by what he laid out in repairing Wolvesey[1] and Farnham Castles, besides buying a new Winchester House at Chelsea, which from that time became the London residence of the see. He sought out the poor, and always "took more care of them than of his relations." He built and endowed in 1672 the College on the north side of the cathedral yard for the support of clergymen's widows, though he himself died unmarried. This fine institution, having been increased by other benefactions since, has an income of £800 a year, and is under the care of the dean and chapter. Nor was the good bishop unmindful of the material interests of his capital, as was shown by his labours for the improvement of the Itchen navigation. The present cathedral library had its origin in his noble bequest "to the dean and chapter and their successors, but not for their or their successors' use and benefit only, but also for the use and benefit of such clergymen and country parsons, vicars and curates, as have not a sufficient stock of books of their own, nor yet of money to buy them, but yet so that

[1] At Wolvesey the bishop left the ancient ruins, but built a new palace *beside* them.

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the dean and chapter for the time being are to be esteemed the conservators, though not the proprietors, of the aforesaid books in the aforesaid library."

In the first years of his translation Morley made a visitation of his see, and went into the Isle of Wight, "where had been no bishop within the memory of man." It is remarkable that, while he was always a strong partisan of the king and an ardent Churchman, he remained in doctrine a Calvinist. He rose at five each morning, winter and summer, and ate but once in the twenty-four hours.

The most important ecclesiastical event of his time was the ejection of the Presbyterian ministers on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662. The clergy were required on pain of deprivation to read the Book of Common Prayer to their congregations, and after reading the same solemnly to "declare their unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained in and prescribed in and by the said book."

The necessity or expediency of this Act is no part of the present volume to discuss, but we cannot blind ourselves to the fact that it was out of it that Nonconformity became perpetuated in England. Thus, Nathaniel Robinson, ejected from All Saints', Southampton, became minister of a presbyterian congregation there;[1] so did Henry Coxe, who had been turned out of Bishopstoke. Giles Say, who was ejected from St. Michael's, retired into privacy. The father

[1] He had been Cromwell's chaplain, and arranged the marriage between Richard Cromwell and Dorothy Mayor of Hursley.

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of Isaac Watts is said to have been imprisoned for preaching outside Holyrood Church.[1] John Warren and Thomas, his brother, were ejected from Romsey and Houghton vicarages. The former, who is said by Calamy to have refused two bishoprics, established a Presbyterian congregation at Romsey. He is buried in the abbey church. At Basingstoke, Nonconformity was established by John Hook, ejected from King's Worthy; at Gosport, by Walter Marshall, whose book on Sanctification has been already mentioned. The first recorded Nonconformist baptism at Portsmouth was on August 2, 1676, by John Hickes, the brother of the famous Nonjuror. This John Hickes was one of the two the sheltering of whom cost Alice Lisle her life.

Southampton seems to have been a *rendezvous* for the ejected of the county, and one noble chapter of their history must not be forgotten. In 1665 the plague, which was devastating London, brought wholesale death to Southampton and Winchester. As in London, the dead were carried out by cart-loads at a time, and buried in pits. And when the regular clergy fled, as some records say they did, the ejected ministers took their places, not only at bedsides but in the pulpits of the churches.[2]

Winchester was a favourite residence of Charles II., who began a magnificent residence here, from designs

[1] Let not the tradition be omitted, that Watts's fine poem, "There is a land of pure delight," was inspired by the lovely view from his father's door across Southampton Water towards the Portsdown Hills.

[2] Woodward's "Hampshire."

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by Sir Christopher Wren. But his death and the troubles of his successor put an end to this work, designed to rival Versailles. One noteworthy visit of his brings us into contact once more with some familiar names. He was accompanied by Eleanor Gwynne, and requested Ken, whom Morley had appointed a prebendary of the cathedral, to receive her as his guest for the time being. Ken flatly refused, and Charles had to place her elsewhere. Not long afterwards, in 1684, good old Bishop Morley died, at the age of eighty-seven. PETER MEWS, Bishop of Bath and Wells, succeeded him, and there were many applications for that vacant see. "Where is the little man who wouldn't give poor Nelly a lodging?" said the king,—"Give it to him." And thus Ken was appointed Bishop of Bath and Wells; and the annals of his diocese have no nobler name. His worthy brother-in-law, Izaak Walton, had come to live at Winchester, a second time a widower, for "Kenna" had been buried at Worcester during Morley's residence there. That bishop had presented Walton's son-in-law, Hawkins, to a canonry in Winchester Cathedral. And thus it came about that old Walton was still ofttimes seen angling in the Itchen, even until the end. He died at the age of ninety, the year before his friend the bishop, and is buried in that part of the south transept called Prior Silkstede's Chapel.

The first event in the reign of James II. at once brings us into connexion with Winchester. Scarcely was he seated on the throne than Monmouth's rebellion broke out. The Mayor of Lymington, Colonel

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Thomas Dore, proclaimed him king, and raised a troop in his service. The rout of the rebels at the battle of Sedgemoor was, in great measure, owing to the skill with which the king's artillery was managed, by no other than the Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Peter Mews, who, having been long before an officer in the army of Charles I., could not now resist the temptation of returning to his ancient profession. Such a circumstance is almost unprecedented. He was at that time seventy-one years of age. He had been a fellow of St. John's, Oxford, but taking arms for Charles I. had been ejected by the Parliament, and gone abroad. On his return, he had been preferred first to a canonry at Windsor, afterwards to the bishopric of Bath and Wells. On Morley's death he was appointed to Winchester. But, though he fought for the king at Sedgemoor, he was no thoroughgoing partisan. He took the view of the nation generally in regarding Monmouth's rebellion with disgust, but in hoping that the king would not endeavour to overthrow the Church. As Visitor he was called in to decide the dispute between the king and Magdalene College, and decided against the king. And he found no difficulty in taking the oath to King William.

The dreadful assize which followed the crushing of Monmouth's rebellion belongs, for the most part, to the West of England; but one execution, and that a memorable one, took place at Winchester. Alice Lisle, the widow of John Lisle the regicide, who had been one of Cromwell's "peers," gave asylum to two men who had been active partisans of Monmouth,

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both in the Rye House Plot and in the rebellion under James. That she knew their position is quite evident. The skill with which Judge Jeffreys elicited this from unwilling witnesses is confessed by his unfriendly biographer to be one of the cleverest passages in criminal jurisprudence. But his brutal violence towards the witnesses, the jury, and the aged prisoner (for she was seventy) has made this trial one of the most odious in our annals. When she was sentenced to death, it was one of the characteristic blunders of the ill-fated king to refuse her pardon, while he gave it to Dore, who returned the mercy by afterwards taking an active part for the Prince of Orange. Alice Lisle was beheaded in Winchester market-place, September 2, 1685. I recently saw her simple grave in Elingham Churchyard and the pew she occupied in church.

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CHAPTER XVII.

THE WHIG BISHOPS.

THE Revolution did not take place without serious injury to the Church. So long as Churchmen and Nonconformists were united by the common bond of resistance to James, there was revived talk of comprehension; but it disappeared along with the overthrow of the danger. The secession of the Non-jurors[1] further weakened the Church. It was not merely the loss of the few bishops, excellent as they were, which did the mischief, it was the filling their places with Whigs, whilst the rank and file of the clergy remained Tory, which went far to paralyse the active work of the Church. Dr. Mews

[1] The following were the non-juring clergy of this diocese who were deprived:—

Dr. Winford, rector of ——, in Surrey.
Dr. Brian, curate of Newington.
Thomas Bradley, rector of Walton and vicar of Castleton.
Alexander Macintosh, rector of Woodmanston, chaplain to 1st Regiment of Horse Guards.
John Holbrook, rector of Titsey.
Jeremy Oakley, rector of Sutton.
David Lindsey, curate of Croydon.
—— Higden, curate of Camberwell.
William Stanbury, rector of Botley.
—— Wontley, rector of Gatcomb.
Henry Jones, rector of Sunningwell.

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died at the age of eighty-nine, at Farnham Castle, November 9, 1706. His successor, SIR JONATHAN TRELAWNEY, is better known to us as Bishop of Bristol, to which King James appointed him in 1685, and in which post he was tried, with six other bishops, for petitioning the king against his declaration of indulgence. The defeat of the king was followed by his downfall, and Trelawney took an active part in placing King William on his abdicated throne. Next year Trelawney was made Bishop of Exeter, and in 1707 he succeeded Mews at Winchester. Atterbury dedicated a volume of sermons to him, in the preface to which he gives him warm thanks for resisting the Erastian policy which is coming into vogue. He completed the restoration of Wolvesey Palace, which Bishop Morley had begun. His works at the cathedral were better in intention than in taste. He erected a new throne of Corinthian design, while the empty Gothic niches in the altar-screen were filled with Grecian vases, at the cost of Dr. William Harris, head-master of the college. Bishop Trelawney died at Chelsea in 1721, and was buried, with his Cornish ancestors, at Pelynt. In his time, Joseph Bingham, the author of the invaluable work on "The Antiquities of the Christian Church," was appointed to the living of Headbourne Worthy, his patron being the famous Dr. Radcliffe. In 1712 Bishop Trelawney gave him, in addition, the rectory of Havant. He died in 1723. His plain tomb is beneath the east window in the pretty churchyard of Headbourne Worthy. His son was appointed by Bishop Willis to succeed him at Havant. By his

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daughter he became grandfather to another Hampshire worthy, Bishop Mant.

CHARLES TRIMNELL, who was bishop from 1721 to 1723, had been previously Bishop of Norwich for fourteen years. He is described as being very gentle and persuasive in manner, and universally popular, though he preached "terrible Whig sermons." It is said, in testimony of his generosity and open-heartedness, "He did not consider his revenue as designed for the private advantage of his family, but as a trust or stewardship, that was to be employed for the honour of his station; the maintenance of hospitality; the relief of the poor; the promoting a good example among his clergy, and the general encouragement of religion and learning."[1] Whig he certainly was to the backbone. Whilst Rector of St. James's, Piccadilly,[2] he published pamphlets against the proceedings of the clergy in Convocation, and in favour of Tillotson, and

[1] From his funeral sermon by Archdeacon Stephens. With this agrees the praise bestowed by Bingham in the dedication of his last two volumes to him. "The reducing the exorbitant fees of this diocese to a proper standard is a thing that will never be forgotten by your poor brethren, who will always feel the sweet effect of it. Your encouragement given to the meanest clergyman to write to yourself in person and not to any officers, upon business relating to the Church, is a singular instance of your good nature and condescension; and also a sure method to prevent corruption. Your care to inform yourself of the character and worth of your clergy, with a view to the promotion of such as have laboured diligently in great cures or small livings, is a method that cannot fail of giving a new life and spirit to all such as may reasonably hope that their merits and labours will not always be overlooked and despised."

[2] There is a portrait of him in the vestry there.

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his primary charge at Norwich was directed against the Church's independence of the State, and the sacerdotal character of the ministry. He made a strong speech in the Lords against Sacheverell and printed it, and entered into warm controversy with John Johnson, the vicar of Cranbrook, over his well known work, "The Unbloody Sacrifice," a work which in large measure anticipated the views of the Oxford Tract Writers. Johnson was an able and learned man, and quite able to take care of himself. The bishop repeated his views in two other charges, and, in a sermon preached before the House of Lords on the anniversary of King Charles the Martyr, gave such offence that they refused him the usual compliment of asking him to print it. Thereupon he printed it on his own account with a preface. It lies before me, and is certainly a fair and moderate work, but just then the nation was in the Sacheverell fever. Here is the last sentence: "We should think of the things which belong to our true peace, and these by the grace of God we should find if we endeavoured truly to answer the humiliation enjoined on this black and sorrowful day,—a day to be had in sad and lasting remembrance of all, and to be observed by a general repentance, with a particular amendment of those who are conscious to themselves of the want of any due regard to the authority of the prince, or the rights of the people, from the love of arbitrary power in the one or faction in the other."

Trimnell did not long survive his elevation to Winchester, for he died exactly two years afterwards. Of his successor, RICHARD WILLIS, there is little to

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tell, though he was bishop for twenty years, nine of Gloucester, thirteen of Winchester. He, too, was a Whig, taking a vehement part in the prosecution of Atterbury, and speaking in favour of the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. He was one of the earliest promoters of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and first in the list of those who have preached before it. He was also the preacher at St. Andrew's, Holborn, at the first meeting of the Charity Schools, instituted at the suggestion of the Society, and for so many years one of the interesting sights of London. No publication of Bishop Willis exists.

But the height of latitudinarianism is reached in the next name, BENJAMIN HOADLY. His grandfather, John Hoadly, had been one of the Puritan emigrants to New England, where the future bishop's father, Samuel, one of twelve children, was born in 1643. Samuel Hoadly came to his father's native land in 1655, and after being educated at Edinburgh became a schoolmaster, first at Cranbrook, then at Westerham. Here Benjamin Hoadly was born and educated by his father until he went to Catherine Hall, Cambridge, where he became tutor after taking his degree. In his undergraduate days he had a severe attack of small-pox, which being unskilfully treated left him so lame for life, that at home he always walked with crutches, and in public with a cane, and always in preaching knelt on a high stool. He was ordained in 1698, and soon after obtained a City living. He immediately began as a pamphleteer, addressing himself in part to the clergy

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and appealing to them to be friendly to the Dissenters, in part to the Dissenters, arguing in favour of the reasonableness of conformity. One of his tracts is thus described by himself in the catalogue of his works which he has drawn up: "A persuasive to lay conformity; or, the reasonableness of constant communion with the Church of England represented to the dissenting laity. This concerns only such of the Dissenters as judge conformity to the Church established to be in itself lawful. I have chosen to argue with them chiefly from the considerations of peace and unity, because this method is most easily to be understood, and most likely to move all who have any concern left for the honour of Christianity or interest for the Protestant cause."

The immediate result was to draw forth a somewhat bitter rejoinder from Calamy, and two successive pamphlets came from Hoadly's pen in defence of himself, one entitled "A Brief Defence of Episcopal Ordination," in which it may be needless to say no sense of the visible Church as a divine institution is found. Other pamphlets, urging the subjection of the Church to the civil power, followed, and the result was, that in 1715 he was appointed Bishop of Bangor. Next year he published his "Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Non-jurors, both in Church and State," and on March 31, 1717, he preached before the king his famous sermon on "The Nature of the Kingdom or Church of Christ," which was immediately published by the king's command, and out of it arose the celebrated "Bangorian Controversy."

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The very name may fairly take this out of the annals of the Winchester diocese; but, indeed, Bangor has little to do with the matter either, except that he held the office of Bishop of Bangor when he preached the sermon. He never once visited that diocese. The alarm was raised by Dr. Snape, head-master of Eton, who appealed to the voice of the Church, and measures were taken for bringing the sermon before Convocation. The Lower House drew up a report, but, before it could be presented, Convocation was prorogued by royal command, and met no more until within our own times. The bishop made no secret of his approval of this strong measure. "I had no other thought, desire, or resolution," says his lordship, "but to answer in my place before the same house to which this accusation was designed to be brought; but it was thought proper (out of a sincere regard, as I verily believe, to the interest of our constitution in Church and State) to put a stop to the sitting of the Convocation; which (because it has been unkindly and industriously represented as the effect of my solicitation, and an argument of my fear, and what I fled to for refuge, I am obliged to declare before the whole world) was done, not only without my seeking, but without so much as my knowledge, or even suspicion, of any such design, until it was actually resolved and ordered. Of this, this defence (which I promised publicly as soon as possible) is, I hope, an unanswerable argument." He adds: "The prorogation of the Convocation tends not to hinder any light from appearing, but the contrary. For the debate is by this means taken from the bar of

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human authority, and brought to that of reason and Scripture; removed from a trial by majority of voices (which cannot be a trial to be contended for, either by truth or by the Church of England) and brought to that of argument only. And, certainly, no Christian or Protestant can justly and consistently find fault with this."

In 1721 Hoadly was made Bishop of Hereford, in 1723, of Salisbury, and in 1734, of Winchester, which see he occupied twenty-seven years, dying at his episcopal residence at Chelsea, at the age of 85, on April 17, 1761.[1] Almost to the end of his life he continued to issue pamphlets, all of the same character as the previous. Some of these are dangerously near Arianism.[2] "A plain account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper," asserting that this sacrament was simply "a memorial, or remembrance, of Christ," was answered by Warburton, who contended that it was "of the nature of a feast upon the sacrifice."

Of the administration of his diocese by Hoadly very few records remain. He had a son in holy orders, whom he made Chancellor of Winchester, Prebendary of the cathedral, Master of St. Cross, Rector of Michelmersh, of Alresford, of St. Mary's,

[1] His monument in the Cathedral is truly characteristic. There is a medallion portrait (beautifully executed), surrounded by emblems, a pike surmounted by the cap of liberty, the episcopal crozier, Magna Charta, and the New Testament.

[2] His son, in answer to this charge, replies that, "if it were so, he knew how to distinguish between private opinion and the practice of the Church!" He appointed one who was certainly an Arian to the vicarage of Portsmouth.

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Southampton, and of Overton (sinecure). He had already given him other preferments out of the diocese, which he kept. He was, however, better known to the world as a bad playwright. His father is said to have written some prologues for him. A somewhat vulgar epitaph in the Cathedral-yard, which is one of the lions of uneducated tourists, is said to be his composition. It is more to his credit that he built old Alresford Church.

Taken as a whole, the religious condition of the eighteenth century is such as makes one sad to survey. The mention of the Warton family here may be allowed as about the favourable specimens. Thomas Warton was Vicar of Basingstoke and Professor of Poetry at Oxford; his son Joseph was head-master of Winchester, 1766–1793; and his other son Thomas is well known as an author and critic. Joseph Warton was not a successful head-master, but Bishop Mant declares him a most lovable man. His successor, Dr. Goddard, should be named as not only a good scholar, but the master of Archbishop Howley, who was the son of a Hampshire rector. Goddard was also the founder of the fine church of Andover.

JOHN THOMAS, who succeeded Hoadly, had been tutor to George III. Earl Waldegrave, in his memoirs, says that the king was badly educated, but that it was not Bishop Thomas's fault, because the queen-mother interfered so much. Thomas was Bishop, first, of Peterborough, then of Salisbury. His successor there wrote a short memoir of him, of which little will be expected when

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we say that the following sentences are the most interesting. "He was a man of most amiable character, and a polite scholar. He was particularly eminent in letter-writing. His royal pupil was sincerely attached to him. This attachment continued to the very end of the good bishop's life, the king and queen frequently visiting him, both at Chelsea and Farnham Castle."

BROWNLOW NORTH, who was Bishop of Lichfield, Worcester, and Winchester successively, was the third son of Francis, Earl of Guildford, and no doubt owed his honours to the fact that his half-brother, Lord North, was twice prime minister. He passed some years in Italy, his wife being a great lover of pleasure and change. He is described as generous to literature, and genial and kindly of manner. The current tradition that he or his chaplain examined some candidates for Ordination in the field, at a cricket-match, is at least an indication of what the views of clerical duty had come to by the end of the century. His appointment of his son to the mastership of St. Cross, and the miserable story of mismanagement and abuse which came before the world so prominently some forty years ago, was not the most flagrant instance of his nepotism. He appointed a nephew before he could speak to a lucrative patent post, which he held for life. This nephew is said to have been converted from a licentious life at the gaming-table, and afterwards became a well-known lay preacher. Another painful feature of this episcopate was the granting long leases of Church property to his family on nominal fines. Some of these

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leases have still many years to run. Sir GEORGE PRETYMAN TOMLINE, in spite of the faults which Sydney Smith has so bitterly attacked, was made of different stuff from this. He had carried off the highest honours of his University when he became Pitt's tutor; and certainly the high opinion which the great minister was led to form of his character and ability must be reckoned to his credit. He held the bishopric of Lincoln for thirty-three and a half years; then his pupil and patron advanced him to Winchester, after having unsuccessfully tried to induce George III. to make him Archbishop of Canterbury.

Bishop Tomline, though not free from the nepotism which has foully tainted the history of so many bishops of Winchester, was a hard-working prelate, and the improvement which had taken place in public opinion as regards clerical obligations showed itself in the zeal with which he endeavoured to keep his clergy to their duty. His "Outlines of Christian Theology," and "Refutation of Calvinism," still hold a place in theological literature, though in the latter work the need of Divine grace has seemed to many to be so thrown into the background that the epithet of "Arminian" has been given to it. But of its clear yet compact style there is no question.

The episcopate which followed lasted for more than forty years—years full of events of deep importance to the Church. CHARLES RICHARD SUMNER was ordained in 1814, and six years afterwards, having powerful friends at court, became high in favour with George IV. He was made Bishop of Llandaff in 1826, and at once took a line hitherto all but

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unknown among Welsh prelates, making searching inquiries into the state of the diocese, and laying open at his visitation, to use the words of his successor, "more of the state of the diocese than had ever been attempted before." Next year, however, he was appointed to the see of Winchester, and here, too, his first act was a novelty in the diocese. He was enthroned in his cathedral in person—the first Bishop of Winchester who had been so since the Reformation. His ordinations appear, too, to have been conducted in a more solemn and edifying manner than had been the case for many a year; and his first visit to the Channel Islands the year following his appointment seems to have had no precedent, so far as a Bishop of Winchester was concerned. About eleven years previously Fisher, Bishop of Salisbury, had spent some little time on the island on behalf of Bishop North, and up to that time he was the only Anglican bishop who had ever visited Jersey. Bishop Sumner's daily progress from village to village was of a quasi-regal character, and enthusiastic cheers followed his carriage. Crowds came to his first confirmation, among them six persons over eighty. From that time, he visited the islands regularly every four years.

On coming to Winchester he threw himself strongly on the side of the "Evangelical" party, and we may say, without untruth, that he did so because it was at that time the most religious.[1] Nor is it unfair to

[1] The most popular religious work, if not in England, at least in Hampshire, during the first half of the present century, was Legh Richmond's "Annals of the Poor," comprising his

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add that, though to the end of his life he belonged to the same party, and promoted, for the most part, the members of it only, he showed, in his latest years, a kindly feeling and sympathy to those clergy on the other side whose zeal and piety recommended them to his heart. But it was not as a theologian, or a controversialist, that the bishop's mark was made in his diocese. It was as an administrator. The following facts, given by his biographer in connexion with his primary visitation in 1828, are remarkable:—"No queries had been officially issued in the diocese since 1788. . . . . During the previous century each Bishop of Winchester in succession only officially visited his diocese once during his episcopate. In fact, whilst there are only records of eleven previous visitations altogether, Bishop Sumner, during his tenure of the see, visited no fewer than ten times" ("Life," p. 169). An extract from his first charge deserves to be quoted:—"It is not fitting that the house of God should be connected in the minds of the people with associations of neglect and discomfort, or that the officials of the Church should dwell in a house of cedar, while the ark of the covenant of the Lord remaineth under curtains. It is not too much to say that no very inaccurate judgment may be formed of the state of religion in a parish by the care with which the decent appearance

two narratives of "The Dairyman's Daughter" and "The Young Cottager." They lived in the Isle of Wight, and their graves are still objects of interest to the visitors of Arreton and Brading churchyards. Mr. Richmond afterwards became Rector of Turvey, Bedfordshire, and died there.

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of its church and churchyard is maintained. There should be such a reverential regard for preserving the appropriate character of the sacred precincts as would indicate, even to the eye of a stranger, 'This is holy ground.' It seldom happens that the inner temple of the heart is swept and garnished where the visible house of the Lord and its courts are suffered to lie waste." Then he goes on to urge more frequent services on Sundays and weekdays:—"I am persuaded that none will think themselves absolved from this duty, in any practicable case, by the smallness of the congregation. God has vouchsafed to promise that where two or three are gathered together in His name He is in the midst of them." We thank God that such views are commonly received now, but they must have been regarded as a novelty in 1829. And he urges more frequent communions. At present he finds that the communicants of the diocese rarely exceed a tenth of the congregation. How God blessed his labours and those of his successors we have to show in our concluding chapter. But we will first have one more retrospect.

"Norfolk excepted," wrote Gilbert White, in his "History of Selborne," "Hampshire and Sussex are as meanly furnished with churches as any counties in the kingdom." Merely observing in passing that Norfolk is anything but contemptible for its ecclesiastical buildings,[1] and that in the weighty judgment of Mr. E. A. Freeman, Sussex is peculiarly rich in the

[1] Witness the series of fine Perpendicular churches along the northern coast, and the round towers, which are a distinguishing mark of this county.

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Early Pointed style, we may admit that Hants churches, in White's time, were not attractive. The finest of them belonged to an age before the beautiful architecture of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had come into use, and, as these had been patched up by those who knew and cared nothing about architecture, it is no wonder if their beauty was not seen. For example, Selborne Church itself, though a beautiful specimen of Norman style, was so disfigured within the writer's recollection, that any one but a master of architecture might have been excused for thinking it a hopeless case. No one would think so now. Romsey Abbey is probably the finest example of Norman of any parish church in England. Petersfield, too, is very fine Norman, and has been well restored. The beautiful Abbey of Christchurch, built, as we have already seen, by Flambard, is enriched with a reredos of the time of Edward III., which, though it has been terribly mutilated, is still one of the most beautiful in the country, while the chantries, though they verge on a debased style here and there, combine to fill the beholder with admiration at the richness of the effect. But the vast tracts of forest, which formerly covered so much of the country, were greatly in the way of church-building; and when they were, in the course of time, cleared away, the zeal for this work of God had, for a while, died out. Instead of building in fresh centres of population, the existing churches were disfigured with double and triple rows of galleries. To take only one instance—Minstead, on the edge of the New Forest. There is a church there, parts of which prove it to belong to the days of

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Bishop Edington. It was simply, like many Hants churches, a nave and chancel without aisles. But the forest was in part cleared, and population increased, and the present result is, that a sort of transept, as large as the original church, has been thrown out from the chancel-arch, the floor rising tier above tier like the gallery of an infant school, and this all pewed. And the nave has three tiers of galleries, beneath which are the heavy old open oak seats. Two quasi-chapels have been built into the north side of the nave, each with a private door from outside. They each form a large family pew, with fireplace, tables, and all complete. Such a frightful example has almost an historical value. It remains to show what, perhaps, the greater number of Hampshire churches were fifty years ago. "Don't pull it down, whatever you do," said Bishop Wilberforce, as he walked round and through it in amazement. The Church of Lyndhurst was built in 1710, as a chapelry to Minstead, but pulled down and replaced by the present beautiful church about twenty-five years ago. The most exquisite modern church in the diocese, if not in England, is Privett.

The following table of churches built in this diocese in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is gathered mainly from a "Conspectus" of the diocese drawn up by Bishop Sumner. In the seventeenth century eight churches were built in Hants, viz. :—Gosport (1696, much beautified since); Combe (1652); N. Baddesley (1674); Highclere (1689, since rebuilt); Lasham (1679); St. Mary's extra Southampton (1620); St. Mary's, West Cowes (1662); Thorley, I. W. (1683). The following in

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Surrey:—Frimley (1606); St. Mary, Bermondsey (1680); Cheam (1640); Moulsey (1600); Morden (1636); Christ Church, Southwark (1670); Windlesham (1680); Woking (1622).

In the eighteenth century were built or rebuilt in Hants: Abbot's Ann (1716), by Lord Chatham's father; Old Alresford (1753, much improved since); Avington (1769); Hinton Admiral (1786); Crux Easton (1775); Eversley (1724, recently restored to Charles Kingsley's memory); St. Helen's, I.W. (1717); Lyndhurst (1710, since rebuilt); St. Thomas's, Ryde (1719); St. George's and St. Jude's, Portsea (1754 and 1788); St. Mary's and All Saints, Southampton (1711 and 1791); Strathfieldsaye (1784); Strathfield Turgis (1790); South Tidworth (1784); Wonston (1714); and in Surrey, Battersea Old Church (1777); Clapham (1775); Long Ditton (1779); Kew (1714); Stockwell Chapel (1767); South Lambeth (1793); St. Matthew's, Denmark Hill (1791); Oxted (1725); Pirbright (1785); St. Mary, Rotherhithe (1739); Shalford (1789); St. George's, St. John's, St. Olave's, St. Thomas's, and Magdalen Chapel, Southwark (1736, 1733, 1740, 1700, 1770); Titsey (1776, since rebuilt); All Saints, Wandsworth (1780); Wonersh (1793); Christ Church, Camberwell (1800.) In Guernsey were built two churches at St. Peter's Port (1789 and 1796).

I have no means at hand of tracing the growth of Nonconformity during the same period, but it would be an instructive page as an indication of the neglect and coldness which for a while settled on the Church. But is not this a painful fact to have to record, that until 1780 there was not a single dissenting chapel in

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the whole parish of Lambeth? In the same year there were only fifteen registered dissenting places of worship in Hants. During the first quarter of this century the average of baptisms was a little over 3 per cent. of the population in England generally, and of burials a little under 2 per cent.; of marriages 8 in 1,000. Hampshire fell a little short of the first two of these averages, and rather exceeded in the third. But probably this is in great measure to be accounted for by the careless way in which registers were kept. Private baptisms were the rule in Hants. The minister used to ride round occasionally and "christen up" the accumulation of unbaptized. Many thus were never baptized at all. Those that were baptized were frequently left unregistered through forgetfulness. The registers themselves were treated with shocking carelessness. At Christ Church the curate's wife cut them up for kettle-holders. In another parish the possession of some charity lands depended upon certain entries in the Churchwardens' books. The custodian had a spite against the parish for dismissing him, so he burned them, and the parish lost the benefit. In one of the largest parishes in the diocese the register was sold by auction, with the property of the deceased vicar. As regards the common pestilent evil of non-residence, Hants shows to some advantage, compared with other counties. A return, issued in 1737, shows in Cheshire 455 livings where incumbents were non-resident; in Essex, 106; in Middlesex, 105; in Norfolk, 104; in Suffolk, 106; in Glamorganshire, 143; in Hants only 65.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

THE DAYS OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

It forms no part of our duty to trace out the history of the great religious movements of the last fifty years. We have only to chronicle results of them in our own diocese.

In 1797 there were 16 centres for confirmation in Hants. They remained at this number in 1822. In 1832 there were 45, and in 1868 there were 69. In Surrey there were 24 centres in 1830, and 56 in 1863. The Diocesan Calendar for 1883 gives 97 centres, although the metropolitan part of Surrey has been transferred to the diocese of Rochester.

According to the census of 1821, the population of Hants and Surrey was 615,349 (= 274,614 + 340,735), and of the Channel Islands 55,070. For this population there were 319 churches in Hants, 142 in Surrey, 30 in the Channel Islands. Eighty-eight parishes had neither Sunday nor day-school. Diocesan organisations were at zero. In Bishop Sumner's "Conspectus," dated 1864, it is shown that up to that date he had consecrated in Hampsnire 82 new churches, and 65 which had been rebuilt; in Surrey, 87 and 33 respectively, and in the Channel Islands, 7 and 2. Between that time and his resignation there were about 40 more; 400

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had been restored and enlarged. The total expenditure in 1864 had been, on churches, £1,704,914; on parsonages, £525,229; on schools, £522,039 (See Appendix E). Some of the churches built of late years are among the very finest in England.

In 1837, the Diocesan Church Building Society was started, the Duke of Wellington presiding at the public meeting held at Winchester to organise it, after having, in a very characteristic manner, ascertained that the bishop agreed with him in desiring to get rid of the leasing of pews, as well as with pew-rents where they could be avoided.

In 1838, the National Society issued its "Suggestions" for the promotion of National Education, and one of them was the formation of Diocesan Boards. One result was the establishment of a Training-School at Winchester, the students being lodged in a hired house and intrusted with the teaching of the cathedral choristers. This prospered so well that, in 1840, the bishop offered the free use of Wolvesey Palace, charging himself with rates and repairs. This would hold fifty students as against nineteen previously. But Wolvesey proved unhealthy, and in 1862 the present Training-College was founded in the upper part of the city.[1]

In 1865, the Surrey County School at Cranleigh was founded for the purpose of middle-class education on the public school system. The buildings are admirably adapted for this object, and the school is one of the best in England.

[1] Wolvesey is at present being fitted, after all needful sanitation, as one of the master's houses of Wykeham's College.

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We must also mention among modern foundations within the diocese, though their operations are in no wise confined to it, the New Charterhouse School, removed from London to Godalming in 1872; the Royal Indian Engineering College, at Egham; the Medical Benevolent College, at Epsom; and the St. John's Foundation School, at Leatherhead, instituted in 1852, for the sons of poor clergy.

Meanwhile, great changes began contemporaneously with the Queen's accession, in the condition and boundaries of the diocese. The Ecclesiastical Commission was appointed in 1836, and by June next year had begun its dealings with Winchester by ordering that, at the next avoidance of the see, the bishop should pay annually into the hands of the Commissioners the sum of £3,600 for the augmentation of the smaller sees.[1] A scheme was also prepared for the readjustment of the boundaries of the sees of Canterbury, London, Winchester, Chichester, Lincoln, and Rochester; and this scheme was adopted. It provided that in the diocese of Canterbury should be included the parishes of Addington and Lambeth, and that Essex should be added to Rochester. But in 1846 these boundaries were altered, and Southwark, Battersea, Bermondsey, Camberwell, Clapham, Lambeth, Rotherhithe, Streatham, Tooting, Graveney, Wandsworth, and Merton, were transferred from Winchester to London. By the "London Diocese Act, 1863," this arrangement

[1] The other dioceses charged at the same time with greater or less amounts were Canterbury, York, Durham, London, Bath and Wells, and Worcester.

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was again altered, and, on the establishment of the Diocese of St. Albans in 1877, Essex was separated from Rochester and the Parliamentary division of East and Mid Surrey were added to it, and the patronage of these portions also were transferred to Rochester.

Before this severance the diocese had extended from the banks of the Thames almost to the coast of Normandy, and was "the most unwieldy diocese in the kingdom," having a population of nearly a million. It still remains the largest in population of any rural diocese, numbering even now 847,370 persons, *i.e.* nearly 200,000 more than Bishop Sumner found in it. In the ten years from 1872 to 1882 it had the greatest number of confirmations of any, except the large dioceses of London and Manchester. The average of confirmees is one per cent. If the whole of a population came to confirmation in due course there would be somewhat less than two per cent.

Other notes which are found in the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Commission are the endowment in June, 1849, of the archdeaconry of Winchester with £130 in addition to the £70 it was already receiving, and the permanent attachment (November, 1865) of a canonry residentiary to the archdeaconry of Surrey. In August, 1851, the income of the bishop was fixed at the next avoidance of the see at £7,000.[1] In June, 1852, many alterations were made in epis-

[1] This has now been diminished to £6,500, Bishop Browne's voluntary offer to make over £500 to the new bishopric of St. Albans as well as the proceeds of the sale of Winchester House having been accepted.

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copal patronage. Those connected with Winchester were the following:—

Bleadon and Rimpton in Somerset; Christ Church and St Paul's, Bermondsey; St. Mark's, Horsleydown; St. Andrew's and St. Thomas's, Lambeth, are all transferred from the Bishop of Winchester to the Bishop of London.

Newchurch and Ryde, I.W., from Gloucester and Bristol to Winchester.

Buttermere, Fonthill Bishop's, Ham, East Knoyle, Patney, and Stockton, in Wilts; Portland and Wyke Regis, with Weymouth, in Dorset; Brightwell in Berks; and Witney in Oxfordshire, from Winchester to Oxford.

Cheriton, with Tichbourne and Kilmeston; Chiddingfold with Haslemere; Easton, Hambledon, Hannington, Houghton, Medstead, Eastmeon, with Froxfield and Steep; Ovington, Upham, with Durley; all from Winchester to Lichfield.

Little Hinton and Wroughton in Wilts, from Winchester to Gloucester.

It will thus be seen that fourteen of the best livings in the diocese went to Lichfield alone,—an arrangement which, though it gave the latter bishop means of rewarding merit such as he but poorly possessed before, was certainly not fair to Winchester. Bishop Sumner had resisted it. Bishop Wilberforce, on succeeding to it, called it "abominable." "It leaves the birds in the nest, who have been used to such rich fare, so clamorously hungry that I know not what to do," he said.

It is not invidious to remark here, however, that

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three clergy of the diocese of this period, who have won themselves a deathless name in sacred literature, held livings in private patronage. Richard Chenevix Trench, the present beloved Archbishop of Dublin, revered as deeply as any living man, was Vicar of Itchenstoke until he was made Dean of Westminster in 1856; John Keble was Vicar of Hursley until his death, and held no other preferment; Charles Kingsley was Rector of Eversley until his death, but the Crown made him a canon, first of Chester then of Westminster.

Speaking of Church work and Church literature, it may be, perhaps, allowed me to make respectful mention of the name of Keble's pupil and friend, Miss Yonge, of Otterbourne, near Hursley; and, if that lady's name be admitted, let me further add that of good Florence Nightingale, of Embley.

In 1878 the rural deaneries of Surrey were re-arranged, a new one being constituted, that of Farnham; the names of South-east Stoke and South-west Stoke were changed to Dorking and Godalming respectively; and several parishes changed their deanery. In 1879, that of Alverstoke and Portsea Island was divided into two.

The passing of the "Manchester Bishopric Act," in 1847, was the occasion of settling a question of precedence. "It has been an ancient custom," wrote the old Winchester annalist,[1] "and it was made a rule in Council by Archbishop Lanfranc, that in all councils the Archbishop of York shall sit

[1] *Sub* anno 1073.

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on the right hand of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London on his left, and the Bishop of Winchester next to the Archbishop of York. If the Archbishop of York was not present, then the Bishop of London sat on the right hand, the Bishop of Winchester on the left, the rest of the bishops in the order of their consecration." The Act we have named, whilst providing that in future bishops should have seats in the House of Lords by rotation, also provided that the Bishops of London, Durham, and Winchester should always be members of the Upper House, and fixed the order we have named as the order of precedence.

In March, 1868, Bishop Sumner was seized with paralysis, and resigned his see next year. For six years longer, however, he lived on at Farnham, outliving, indeed, his successor, and dying in peace on August 15, 1874. Of that successor there seems a special fitness in simply quoting the generous tribute paid to him by Bishop Sumner's biographer :—

"Shortly after he [Sumner] had concluded his Visitation of 1845, he was called upon to assist at the consecration of his friend, Samuel Wilberforce, to the bishopric of Oxford. He had watched his career from the very first; had been united to him in the closest bonds of friendship; had himself preferred him to a benefice, a canonry, and an archdeaconry; and those who were present on the occasion have stated that it was with a voice trembling with deep emotion that he presented Wilberforce to the archbishop as "a godly and well-learned man, to be ordained and consecrated bishop." If the

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Bishop of Winchester had then been gifted with a prophetic eye, what a vision would have floated before him! Even that of a bishop in the Church of God for twenty-eight years; one foremost through life in every good word and work; whilst confessedly most able in the administration of his diocese, yet fostering with an enlarged heart the Church's labours in every quarter of the globe; a very Chrysostom in eloquence; destined, in God's providence, to take the pastoral staff from his own hands when he was laid aside from active duty by the afflicting hand of God, and at length, *felix opportunitate mortis*, translated, without lingering decay or the enforced idleness of a sick-room (which to him would surely have been a grievous burden) into the blest abode of rest and peace, for which, at times, his weary spirit had eagerly craved, and where a crown of glory awaited him as a good and faithful servant of his Lord."[1]

For ten years his place has been filled by one of whose worth and goodness it would be impertinent to speak. But it may, we trust be allowed us to say that whilst the Church of these days needs learning, needs piety, as much as ever, she also needs more than ever wisdom to enable her clergy "to be ready to give an answer for the hope that is in them," and also to be able to sympathise with the difficulties and perplexities of anxious souls. And such special and thrice blessed gifts will not be withheld from her so long as her pastors are imbued with the tenderness, the faith, the gentleness, which rules over the ancient

[1] "Life of Bp. Sumner," p. 301.

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see of Winchester, second to none in historical interest and magnificent associations. I could hardly say so much if I were one of the Winchester clergy; but, moving much among them, I know the depth of their feeling, and speak their mind in hoping that the Head of the Church has yet much more work and blessing in this world for Bishop Edward Harold Browne.

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APPENDIX.

(A.)

CHURCH LANDS AT THE TIME OF THE CONQUEST.

a. HAMPSHIRE.—Mr. Freeman has shown that the information given in Domesday Book as to the several districts of England differs very much as to its amount, in some parts being very bald, in others full almost to picturesqueness. This is accounted for by the different ideas of their duties taken by the respective commissioners. The Hampshire Survey is fuller than the majority, but it is evidently incomplete. The omission of any mention of Portsmouth may possibly indicate that it was not yet come into existence; but there is no mention of Petersfield, Lymington, Gosport, nor of the Episcopal Manors of Merdon, Woodhay, Cheriton, Hambledon, or Wolvesey. It must be remembered that in all cases the enumeration is of *manors*, not of *parishes*. The non-mention of a church is, therefore, no proof of its non-existence. 132 churches are named, but in each case as belonging to some manor or possessing land.

According to the Survey, the county is divided into fifty hundreds, which are subdivided into about 300 manors; of these 75 are held by the king, 103 by ecclesiastical persons and establishments, and the rest are divided among the king's Norman followers, one of whom, Hugh de Port, holds 50. The value of some of the manors held by the king is not

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assessed, but beyond these the rental of the county is about £2,640, of which two-fifths belong to the Church. Here is the list :—

	Manors.	Value.
Bishop of Winchester	24	£377
,, as Abbot of St. Swithun[1]	30	297
The New Minster[2]	18	211
St. Mary's Abbey[3]	6	28
Romsey Abbey	5	47
Wherwell Abbey	6	51
Christ Church Priory	3	15
Other persons and establishments	11	57
	103	£1083

The Bishop's Manors held in his own right were at Alresford, Kilmeston, Twyford, Easton, Bishopstoke, Crawley, Waltham, Overton, Bradley, East and Westmeon, Meonstoke, Stock (Stoke Charity?) Fareham, Kingscamp (now Normancourt), Ovington, Candover, Houghton, Wield, Tisted, Abbotston, Brownwick, Bentley.

Those held for the Monks were Chilcomb, Nursling, Chilbolton, Avington, Whitchurch, Hurstbourne Priors, Highclere, Burghclere, Crondall, Ewshott, Cove (in Yately) Long Sutton, Farnborough, Polehampton, Exton, Alverstoke, Worthy, Wonston, Brandsbury, South Stoneham, Milbrook, Hinton Ampner, Fawley, Itchingswell, Hannington, Hoddington, Boarhunt, Wootton St. Lawrence, Hayling, Brockhampton, Havant.

The New Minster held Candover, Woodmancote,

[1] It will be remembered that he was not only bishop of the diocese at large, but also head of the monastic establishment of the cathedral. These thirty manors, therefore, he held for his monks.

[2] See page 27. [3] Ibid.

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Fullerton, Leckford, Micheldever, Abbot's Worthy, Alton, Worting, Bighton, Bedhampton, Lomer (in Corhampton), Warnford, Litchfield (in parish of Kingsclere), North Stoneham, Kingsclere, Tachbury, Abbot's Ann, Laverstoke.

St. Mary's Abbey had Liss, Froyle, Leckford, Longstock, Timsbury, Ovington.

Romsey Abbey held Romsey town, Itchenstoke, Sidmonton, Dodinton, Sway.

Wherwell Abbey had "the whole village in which the church stands," Tufton, Goodworth Clatford, Little Anne, Middleton, Bullington.

The Christ Church Priory Lands, or, as it stands in the book, the "Land of the Canons of Twynham, were five hides (about 600 acres probably) in the village, and one hide in the Isle of Wight, Holdenhurst, Bortel (?) Baisley. It is noted that "formerly the Priory held eight acres in Boldre, which is now forest."

The other ecclesiastical landholders are Archbishop Thomas (Thomas of Bayeux, Archbishop of York) who held in the manor of Mottisfont, one church and six chapels with all customary dues from the living and the dead, in Broughton one chapel, in Littleworth one, two at Tytherly, one at Dean, one at Lockerley; Bishop Osburn (Exeter), who had Farringdon; St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, which held Linkenholt; the Abbot of Westminster who held Eversley; Chertsey Abbey, which had Winchfield, and Elvetham; St. Peter's Abbey, Jumièges, holding Hayling; and Glastonbury holding Ower. In the Isle of Wight the Norman Abbey of Lyra (Lire) held six churches to which pertained "two hides and two yard lands and a half."

b. In SURREY, the *Bishop of Winchester* held Farnham, and as abbot of St. Swithun, Sandersted. The abbot of Chertsey held Whatendon, Coulsdon, Sutton,

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Esher, Weybridge, Maldon, Streatham, Bookham, Egham, Chobham, Brixton, Chipsted, Byfleet, East Clandon.

The other ecclesiastical landholders in Surrey were the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop Osbern, the Bishop of Bayeux, the abbots of Westminster and Battle, the canons of St. Paul's, London, and some smaller abbeys.

c. In BERKSHIRE the bishop held Brightwell, Harwell, and Wallingford, and the monastery Olvricestone.

d. In WILTSHIRE the bishop held Downton, Fonthill, Bishop's, Fifehide, and the monks Aulton, Hame, Elingdon, Clive, Wanborough, Eynford, Overton, Stotton.

e. In SOMERSETSHIRE: Taunton, Tolland, Oake, Holford, Cheddon, Ninehead, Norton, Bradford, Halse, Heathfield, Stoke, Bagborough, Pitminster, Rimpton. Bleadon belonged to the monastery.

f. In HERTFORDSHIRE was one manor belonging to the monastery; in BUCKS were two; in OXFORDSHIRE two; in Cambridgeshire four were held by the bishop.

(B.)

THE ALIEN PRIORIES.

We have already explained at p. 39 (note) the meaning of the term, and here put down the principal ones and their fate at the suppression in 1415. See p. 144.

Elingham. The tithes of the Parish Church of All Saints, with the Chapelry of St. Mary, belonged to St. Sauveur le Vicomte in Normandy, by the gift of William de Solariis in 1163. On the suppression

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given to Eton College by Henry VI., and gift confirmed by Edward IV.

Andewell, near Basingstoke. Cell to Abbey of Tyrone. Given to St. Cross.

St. Cross, Isle of Wight. Also belonged to Tyrone. Granted to Winchester College.

Andover Parish Church, with a hide of land and some rents. Given by the Conqueror to St. Florence, at Saumur. Granted to Winchester College.

Appuldurcombe (I. W.), belonged to Abbey of St. Mary de Montisbury, in Normandy. Granted to a Nunnery in Aldgate.

Barton College (I. W.). An Oratory founded about 1282 by the Rectors of Shalfleet and Godshill, to be served by Augustinian monks. Taken by Bishop Wykeham for Winchester College. The monastic buildings are now the stables of Osborne House; the fish-ponds are close by.

Carisbrooke (I. W.). The Church was an appanage of the Abbey of Lire, in Normandy. Given by Henry V. to the Charter-House at Shene, which he had just founded.

Hayling was a cell of Benedictine monks, belonging to the Abbey of Jumieges. Henry V. conferred it on his Carthusian House at Shene, and, when this also was dissolved by Henry VIII., that king exchanged it for another estate to the Earl of Arundel.

Hamble was a cell to the Abbey of Tyrone. Bestowed on New College, Oxford.

St. Helen's (I. W.). A priory of Cluniac monks. Given by Henry VI. and Edward IV. to Eton College; but the latter afterwards revoked the gift, and bestowed it on St. George's, Windsor.

West Shirburne. A cell of the Abbey of St. Vigor at Creasy, in Normandy, was given by Henry VI. to Eton College, but by Edward IV. in 1462 to the Hospital of St. Julian, Southampton.

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St. Julian, Southampton, known as "God's House," was founded by two merchants in 1185 as a hospital for poor folks. Edward III. gave the patronage and mastership to his Queen, Philippa, for the College which she had founded at Oxford, and to Queen's College it still belongs, as does the advowson of West Shirburne.

(C.)

DISPOSAL OF CHURCH LANDS AT THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES.

Some account of the foundations of the principal religious houses has been given in the progress of our narrative. We here gather together a few notices of the ultimate fate of them at the spoliation by King Henry. And we begin, of course, with Winchester.

The Old Minster, or Cathedral, we have already seen transformed from a Benedictine House into "a new foundation." (See p. 163.)

New Minster, or *Hyde.* Valued at the Dissolution at £865. 18s. 0¾d. The site was granted to Richard Bethell. Many of the best estates, particularly the Manors of Stratton and Micheldever, were given to the notorious Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, "the great swallower up of Church lands," as Fuller calls him. From him they passed by marriage to the Russell family. The livings of Abbotts Ann, Worting, and Bighton, which belonged to Hyde, are now in private patronage.

St. Mary's Abbey, Winchester ("Nunna Minster"). Annual income, £179. 7s. 2d. Granted to John Bello and John Broxholme, provision being made, however, for the existing nuns during their lifetime.

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St. Elizabeth's College, Winchester, was built, as we have seen, by Bishop Pontoise (p. 116). When Wykeham founded his splendid College, he provided for a certain number of *filii nobilium*. Some were to be lodged in the apartments of the warden, fellows, and masters, and such as could not find accommodation there were received, at his request, by the brethren of St. Elizabeth. In the accounts for 1462 there is a charge of 30 shillings and 8 pence "for 38 weeks board of Wm. Norton studying at the College of St. Mary."

At the Dissolution, St. Elizabeth's was valued at £112. 17s. 4d. The site was granted to Wriothesley, who sold it to the warden and fellows of Wykeham's College. They pulled it down, though it was a very beautiful structure. Probably they were wise under the circumstances, for the greedy eyes of the king were already on Wykeham's College, and they dared not invite attention by enlarging their borders. The remains of the building were used for repairs of the other. The site is still visible in dry weather.

The houses of the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Carmelites, in Winchester, were also granted by the king to the College in exchange.

Two institutions of Winchester happily escaped the general overthrow. The one was *Wykeham's College*, which was at one period in great peril, but was probably saved by Henry's death. The other was the *Hospital of St. Cross*. The Reformation affected it but little. A visitation in 1535 directed that the thirteen brethren were to receive sufficient meat and drink, and 100 men were daily to be fed. A priest was enjoined to teach the poor men dwelling in it the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed in English, and it was to be rehearsed daily in church after dinner. Let us follow its fortunes.

In the days of James I. there is this story to tell. Sir Peter Young, a Scotchman, was appointed master,

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but, as he lived in Scotland, he left the management to his son, Dr. Young, the dean, who made one Mr. Wright both chaplain and steward. He dying, his widow burnt the accounts,—probably they were hardly in a condition to bear daylight,—and for the greater part of a century subsequent no accounts appear to have been kept. As squabbles were continually arising between the masters and brethren, a scheme of management was drawn up by Dr. Abraham Markland in the first year of his mastership (1694), and this was agreed to by the master, brethren, and officers, and ratified by the bishop. According to this scheme the number of "hundred hall poor" was reduced to 28 poor men and 12 poor women, whose diet and allowance, as well as the stipends of the officials, were regulated. The whole of the revenues were placed in the master's hands, who was to provide for the above service, and to keep the church in decent repair, and to retain the entire surplus for himself. The masters who held office under this iniquitous scheme deserve to be named:—Abraham Markland, 1694; John Lynch (perhaps the most shameful pluralist in the annals of the Church), 1728; John Hoadly, 1760; Beilby Porteus, 1776; John Lockman, 1788; Francis North, Earl of Guildford, 1808. In the days of the latter incumbent public opinion was awakened to the nature of the transaction, and an inquiry was instituted in 1853. The Master of the Rolls declared of it from the judgment-seat: "A more barefaced and shameless document, in my opinion, could not have been framed, nor could a more manifest, and probably wilful, breach of trust have been committed." The distribution of the revenues he pronounced to be "in direct opposition to the evidence and documents in their own custody." A new scheme was drawn up in 1857, under which the Hospital is now managed. Lord Guildford

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resigned in 1855, but much Church property remains in the hands of his family even until now.

Romsey Abbey. Valued at £528. 10s. 10½d. The church was bought by the townsfolk, for £100, for a parish church; the buildings surrounding were granted to John Bello and R. Bigot. The lands containing the abbey were granted by Edward VI. to Admiral Seymour.

Southampton, St. Denys. Founded about 1124 by Henry I. for the Black Canons (Augustinian), augmented by several successive sovereigns. At the Dissolution valued at £91. 9s. There were a prior and nine religious. The site was granted to Francis Dawtrey. Only a solitary fragment of grey wall remains.

Beaulieu. Valued at Dissolution at £428. 6s. 8¼d., granted to Wriothesley, passed by marriage, *temp.* William III., to Ralph, Lord Montague, from whom it went by marriage to the family of Buccleuch, the present holders.

Netley. Valued at £166. 2s. 9¼d., granted to Sir Wm. Paulet, but has changed hands many times since.

Mottisfont, a Priory of Austin Canons, was founded by Wm. Briwere in the reign of King John. Henry VII. partly despoiled it to build his chapel at Westminster Abbey. At the Dissolution it was worth £124. 3s. 5½d., and was granted to Sir Wm. Sandys.

Titchfield Abbey, founded by Bishop Peter, in 1231, for Præmonstratensian Canons. Valued at the Dissolution at £249. 16s. 1d., and granted to Wriothesley, who, with the materials of the abbey, built himself "a right stately house."

Wherwell, Benedictine Nunnery. Valued at the suppression at £339. 8s. 7d. Granted to Sir Thomas West, Lord de la Warr.

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Christ Church (Twynham), after its conversion from a secular to a regular foundation, received many bequests. At Dissolution valued at £544. 6s. The site was first granted to Stephen Kirton, but afterwards to the town, to which it still belongs. One of the most touching objects in the church is the beautiful chantry built by the Countess of Salisbury, in the reign of Henry VIII., to contain the ashes of herself and her son, Reginald Pole. But it is vacant. She lies among so many more of the tyrant's victims in St. Peter's Chapel in the tower; her son is the last primate buried in Canterbury Cathedral.

Winteneye, near Hartford Bridge, a Cistercian nunnery, had a prioress and seventeen nuns at the time of the Dissolution, but was only worth £43. 3s. per annum. The site was granted to Richard Hill, the King's Cellarer.

Southwick. King Henry I. founded a priory of Austin Canons at Porchester in 1133, but they were not long afterwards removed to Southwick, where they remained till the Dissolution. Valued at £314. 17s. 10d. Site granted to John White.

Quarr Abbey (I.W.), Cistercian, founded 1132, valued at Dissolution at £134. 3s. 10d., bought by George Mills, a Southampton merchant, who is said to have "destroyed the buildings for the sake of the materials without respect to the sepulchres of the many illustrious persons buried in its chapel."

Basingstoke. A Hospital, founded here in the reign of Henry III., has a history of great interest. Walter de Merton, the King's Chancellor, Canon of Wells, and afterwards Bishop of Rochester, having inherited an estate from his mother, who was a native of Basingstoke, and who is buried in the parish church with her husband, gave that estate in 1261 for the founding of a hospital, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, for the maintenance of priests who were past

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work. His name is more widely known as the founder of Merton College, Oxford, and he annexed the mastership of his Basingstoke Hospital to that college. He had also founded at Maldon in Surrey a school, intended as a seminary to Merton, but he afterwards removed that to Merton. Henry III. made Basingstoke Hospital a royal foundation. Edward VI. restored it to Merton College, his father having seized it, and the site still belongs to that College, but the last remains of this hospital disappeared in 1778.

Bermondsey Priory, founded by Alwin Child, citizen of London, in 1082, for Cluniac monks, and largely augmented by subsequent gifts, was valued at the Dissolution at £548. 2s. 5¼d., and was granted to Sir Rob. Southwell, Master of the Rolls. The king pulled down the church and built himself a house, which, with the adjacent grounds, covered 20 acres. Little is known of the history of this important foundation, as the annals have all perished.

Waverley had thirteen monks at Dissolution. Valued at £196. 13s. 11½d., granted to Sir William Fitzwitham, treasurer of the king's household, but has often changed owners since. The ruins on the banks of the Wey, under the black pine woods of Crooksbury Hill, show how very beautiful the abbey must have been.

On the site of the House of the Black Friars at Guildford, Henry VIII. built himself a mansion, which James I. gave to Sir Geo. More of Loseley. It now belongs to Lord Onslow.

Merton, founded in 1117 by Gilbert Norman, Sheriff of Surrey, for Augustinian Canons. Received gifts of lands from successive donors in seven counties, and the spiritualities were yet more numerous, consisting of advowsons of churches. Here Walter de Merton was educated. Valued at Dissolution at £1,039. 19s. 5½d., and seized by the Crown.

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Aldebury Church and Priory of Black Canons, founded in time of Richard I., was valued at £258. 11s. 11d., and given by Henry VIII. to Sir Anthony Browne. The ruins, commonly known as "*Newark Priory*," are near Woking.

St. Mary Overy, Southwark. Stow says that there was a nunnery here before the Conquest, endowed with the profits of a ferry over the Thames, that this was changed into a college of priests, who built the first bridge. In 1106 the foundation was renewed, and the church founded by two Norman knights, Wm. Pont de l'Arche and Wm. Dancy. The beautiful church now standing on the spot was founded by Bishop Peter des Roches. Gower the Poet, whose fine monument is there, is said to have been a large benefactor to the Church. Cardinal Beaufort's arms, on a pillar in the south aisle, also indicate him a contributor. At the Dissolution the income was £656. 10s. 0½d. The site was granted to Sir Anthony Browne, afterwards created Lord Montague; but the inhabitants of this and the next parish petitioned for the church, and, being supported by Gardiner, were allowed to purchase it. In 1541 the name was altered to St. Saviour's. The alterations made in the nave in 1840 have produced, perhaps, the most hideous piece of Vandalism in London, but the endeavours which have been begun to restore its former glory, and, if it please God, to make it a cathedral for South London, give us good hopes.

Chertsey Abbey, at the time of the Dissolution, was in such favour with the king, that, instead of despoiling the monks, he transferred them to Bisham Abbey in Berks, and gave them a new charter, confirming to them several of the advowsons they possessed. But a year later he revoked it, and they shared the fate of their brethren. The revenue was valued at

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£659. 15s. 8¾d. Only a few fragments of wall remain. The site was granted to Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam.

Richmond. A house for Friars Observant (a branch of the Franciscans) was founded by Henry VII., but suppressed, 1534.

Shene. In 1414 Henry V. founded a House for the maintenance of forty Carthusian monks, and gave it so many privileges that at the Dissolution it was worth £777. 12s. net. The site was given to the Protector Somerset, and at his fall to the Duke of Suffolk. Dean Colet died here, and here the corpse of James IV. lay neglected for years after Flodden, in a lumber-room, lapped up in lead. The site of the monastery is just discernible by the uneven ground in Richmond Lower Park.

(D.)

THE RESIDENCES OF THE BISHOPS OF WINCHESTER.

Wolvesey Palace. See Index.

Winchester House, Southwark, was built by Bishop Giffard on ground belonging to the prior of Bermondsey. A park of sixty or seventy acres was attached to it. The house stood near the west end of the church of St. Mary Overy, fronting the Thames. A part of the park was afterwards separated by Bishop John Pontoise, and the house of the Bishop of Rochester built upon it. This house was on the site of the present Borough market. The house was seized by Edward VI. on Gardiner's deposition, and passed by exchange to the Marquis of Northampton, but was restored on the accession of Mary. In 1642, the Parliament seized it and converted it into a prison; a Mr. William Devenish was appointed keeper, and was authorised to provide

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some orthodox and godly minister to preach for the instruction of the souls of the prisoners. He was also to prohibit any from preaching who were not so qualified and not well affected to the Parliament.[1] In 1649, the house and park were sold to Thomas Walker, gent., of Camberwell, for £4,380. 8s. 3d. On the Restoration it reverted to the see, but was no longer made the episcopal residence, and was let out to various tenants. The trees of the park were all cut for rebuilding London after the Great Fire. Since that time it has become the site of various factories. Barclay & Perkins's Brewery occupies a great part of the site. There is an engraving in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1791 (p. 1169) of the remains of the palace as they then existed. The accompanying letter-press says, "To judge of the original grandeur of this place, an intelligent spectator need only visit it in its present state of ruin. Time has not yet been able to extinguish the marks of venerable antiquity; though, perhaps, from its commercial situation, few places have been more exposed to the attacks of violence."

Winchester House, Chelsea. In 1663 an Act was passed to empower Bishop Morley to lease out Winchester House, Southwark, and the demesnes of Bishop Waltham, £4,000 of the proceeds to be expended in the purchase of a convenient house, within three miles of London, for the residence of himself and his successors. It was to be called Winchester House, and to be deemed within the diocese of Winchester. The remainder was to be spent in repairs at Farnham. Next year accordingly was bought at Chelsea "the new brick house" of James Duke of Hamilton, and this became the residence.

Winchester House, St. James's Square. In 1821, Bishop Tomline procured an Act of Parliament enabling him to sell Winchester House, Chelsea, on

[1] Commons' Journals.

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the ground of its inconvenient distance from London, both for the bishop and for the clergy who wished to call on him. Two clauses of the Act provided that the fresh purchase should *not* be held to be within the diocese, and that it should be called Winchester House. Bishop Tomline died before the new purchase was effected. Bishop Sumner found that the sale of the old house had realised £7,200, a sum insufficient to buy one in London. He, therefore, procured the passing an additional Act, empowering him to cut timber at Farnham, and with the accumulated fund Winchester House, in St. James's Square, was bought. It was sold by the present bishop in order to furnish the means of endowing the newly-founded see of St. Alban's.

"*Farnham Castle*," writes Bishop Sumner's biographer, "situated on the borders of Hants and Surrey, is one of the most delightful residences that can be conceived. It stands on a height overlooking the town of Farnham, and has been in the possession of the see of Winchester since the middle of the twelfth century. A deer park of about 300 acres lies immediately behind the castle, and the garden is formed around the ruins of the old keep.

"It was originally built by Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, in 1129. Nearly a century later (1216) Louis, the Dauphin of France, possessed himself of it, but it was recovered by Henry III. shortly after. It was not, however, considered of importance as a fortress till the reign of Charles I.

"The neighbourhood of Farnham was, in 1642, the scene of many a sanguinary encounter, and the castle was partially blown up by Sir William Waller, one of the Parliamentary generals in that year. In the middle of the seventeenth century it was dismantled as a fortress, and has ever since been used only as an episcopal palace. Bishop Morley is said

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to have expended some £8,000 in repairing and improving the castle. Each bishop in succession

"Diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis,"

and the consequence is that, at the present time, Farnham Castle, while retaining some of the characteristics of an old baronial residence, for comfort is equalled by few houses in the country, and surpassed by none." ("Life of Bishop Sumner," p. 133).

(E.)

CHURCHES CONSECRATED IN THE 19TH CENTURY.*

1804. Dogmersfield; Whippingham.
1808. St. Jude's, Southwark; St. Mary, Balham.
1810. East Stratton.
1811. Micheldever; Verulam Chapel, Lambeth.
1813. St. Paul's, Lambeth.
1814. Chilworth; Fareham; East Dulwich.
1815. St. Paul's, Clapham; St. Paul's, Jersey.
1816. Wyke.
1818. Baddesley; St. Saviour's, Southwark; Walton-on-the-Hill; St. James's, Guernsey.
1819. St. Stephen's, Lambeth; Christchurch, Brixton.
1820. Egham; Bagshot; Sark; Deane.
1822. Bransgore; St. Paul's, Portsea; East Woodhay; Mitcham.
1823. Hythe.
1824. Zion Chapel, Southampton; Camden Church, Camberwell; All Saints', Lambeth; St. Mark's, Kennington; St. Michael's, Lambeth; St. John's, Waterloo; St. Matthew's, Brixton.

* Mission and temporary churches are not included. Some of these churches are new, some rebuilt.

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1825. Bishopstoke; Frimley; St. Luke's, Norwood.
1826. Rockbourne.
1827. Bembridge; Exbury.
1828. Millbrook; St. James's, Ryde; All Saints', Portsea; St. George, Battersea; St. Mary the Less, Lambeth; St. Ann's, Wandsworth.
1829. Shidfield; St. Paul's and Trinity, Southampton; St. James's, Bermondsey; St. James's, Clapham; St. James's, Jersey.
1830. Hartley-Wintney; St. Helen.
1831. Forton; Appleshaw; Itchenstoke; Waterloo-Ville; St. John's, Richmond; St. Leonard's, Streatham; Hordle.
1832. West Cowes; Ibsley; Milton; Northington; Hamwith Hatch; Gorey in Jersey.
1833. West Tytherley; East Cowes; Tooting.
1834. Holdenhurst; North Eling; Privett; Gatton.
1835. Trinity, Fareham; Curdridge; All Saints, Jersey.
1836. Botley; Bramshott; Shirley; Sarisbury; Kingswood; St. Mary's, Summer's Town; St. John's, Guernsey.
1837. Calbourne Newtown; St. John's, Carisbrooke; St. Catherine's, Ventnor; Hawley; Dorking; St. Nicholas, Guildford; Milford.
1838. Burghclere; Burton; Otterbourne; St. James's, Stoneham; Redhill; St. Mary Magdalene's, Camberwell; Addlestone; Holmwood; Virginia Water; Hook; Trinity, Rotherhithe.
1839. Sway; Boldre; Pennington; Garrison Church, Portsmouth; Harbridge; Burley; Churt; Kingston, Vale; Trinity, Lambeth; Christchurch, Rotherhithe; St. Peter's, Southwark; Hersham.
1840. Emsworth; Claygate; Wrecclesham; All Saints, Rotherhithe.
1841. Bossington; Beaworth; Crookham; Ampfield;

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Trinity and Milton, Portsea; Emmanuel; Camberwell; Hale; St. Michael's, Lambeth; Christchurch, Streatham.

1842. St. John's, Southampton; St. Maurice, Winchester; Albury; Herne Hill; Trinity, Chobham; St. John's, Clapham; Blindley Heath; Norbiton; St. John's, Woking.

1843. Highcliff; Marchwood; Oakefield; Bitterne; Colden Common; West Molesey; Redhill; St. Mary Magdalene's, Southwark.

1844. Anglesey; Binstead; St. Mary's, Portsea; Barton's Village; St. John Cove; St. George's, Camberwell; Peckham Merrow; St. Olave's, Southwark.

1845. Elson; Brown Candover; Bournemouth; Swanmore; Woodlands; St. Thomas's, Winchester; Clay Hill; St. Mark's, Surbiton; Ryde; St. Mark's, Jersey.

1846. Gosport; Westmeon; Nutley; St. Peter's, Southampton; East Tisted; Shotter Mill; All Saints', Lambeth; Ripley.

1847. Banghurst; Sandown; Portswood; Brockham; Long Cross.

1848. Bonchurch; Exton; West Green; Hursley; Worting; St. John's, Battersea; St. Paul's and Christchurch, Bermondsey; Cold Harbour; Ewell; St. Martha; Shalford; Weybridge; Penge.

1849. Andover; Fangley; Widley; Christchurch, Battersea; Botleys and Lyne; Farncombe.

1850. Newtown; Winchfield; St. Barnabas, Lambeth; St. Paul's, Rotherhithe; St. Stephen's, Southwark; Alderney; Holyrood, Southampton.

1851. Blendworth; St. Jude's, Portsea; Yorktown; Mortuary Chapel, Chertsey; St. Luke's, Jersey.

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1852. Haven Street; Westcott; St. Mary's, Lambeth; St. Pierre-la-Rocque, Jersey.

1853. Foxcott; Itchingswell; Monxston; St. Luke's, Southampton; Bitterne; Woodcott; St. John's, Angell Town; St. Matthew's (temp.), Reigate.

1854. Thedden Grange; Netley; Overton; Esher; Immanuel, Balham; St. Matthew's, Guernsey; Trinity, Winchester.

1855. Rownhams; Hyde; Ringwood; Trinity Weston, Southampton; Woodmancott; Chipsted; Trinity, Balham; St. Andrew's, Jersey.

1856. Northam; Trinity, Tulse Hill; St. Andrew's, Lambeth; Kent Town.

1857. Hatherden; Newport; St. Paul's, Dorking; Tilford; St. Stephen's (temp.) and St. Thomas's, Lambeth; St. Paul's, Southwark.

1858. Purbrook; Pitt; Infirmary Chapel and Bernard St., Southampton; Wherwell; Winnall; All Saints', Clapham; Hatchford; St. Matthias, Richmond; Temporary Church, Sutton; Pokesdown.

1859. St. Peter's, Sea View; Ranmore; Englefield Green; Berghem.

1860. Aldershot; Medsted; Lyndhurst; Crampmoor, Romsey; Headley, Temporary Ch., Surbiton; St. Mark's, Reigate; Christchurch.

1861. Sidlow Bridge; New Malden; St. Stephen's, Lambeth; Seale; Grafham; Titsey; Oatlands.

1862. Fleet; Itchen-Abbas; Froxfield; Trinity, Ventnor; St. Luke's, St. Bartholomew's, and St. Simon's, Portsea; Lee, Romsey; Wymering; Iron Church, Battersea; Caterham (temp.); Christ Church, Clapham; Bourne;

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Puttenham; Netley Lane, Reigate; Old Alresford.

1863. Aldershot Military Church; Fair Oak; Brooke; Gurnard School Chapel; East Parley; Eling; Shalfleet School Chapel; Bernard St., Southampton; St. Philip's, Lambeth; Christ Church, Gipsy Hill; St. John's, Battersea; St. Mary's, Guildford; Christ Church, Surbiton; Outwood; Feldey; Trinity, Summer's Town; Swanmore.

1864. St. Peter's, Lambeth; Shamley Green; Binstead; Emery Down; Hascombe; Trinity and St. Mary's, Jersey; King's Worthy; Lyss; Niton; Ottershaw; Wootton; St. Lawrence, Brading; Warlington.

1865. Alverstoke; Ash; Byfleet; Ecchinswell; St. Andrew's, Farnham; Freemantle; Gatcombe; St. Stephen's, Guernsey; East Molesey; Circus Church, Portsea; Shackleford; Shalden; French Church, Southampton.

1866. Chobham; Claygate; Headbourne Worthy; Weston; St. Simon's, Jersey; Ovington; Scholing; Stockbridge; Stoke d'Abernon; Tongham; Over Wallop; North Waltham; East Worldham; Capel; Chapel of the Good Shepherd, Portsea.

1867. Banstead; Busbridge; Langley; Highcliffe; Itchen Stoke; Lasham; Ramsdale; Tilford; Valley End; Worplesdon.

1868. Sheet; East Cowes; West Cowes; Eastleigh; St. Simon's, Portsea; Portswood; Weston Patrick; Whitchurch; Whitwell; King Edward School Chapel, Witley.

1869. Blackmoor; Trinity, Bournemouth; Frensham; St. Martin's, Guernsey; Trinity, Guildford; Hartley Wespall; St. Saviour's, Shanklin.

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1870. Chiddingfold; Church Oakley; Colbury; St. Paul's, Dorking; Hartley Wintney; Highclere; Horsell; East Horsley; St. Ouen, Jersey; Minley; South Warnborough.

1871. Liphook; Conford; Crondall; Haslemere; Hook; Kingston, I.W.; Langrish; Linkenholt; Meon Stoke; Rowledge; Thorley; Wonston.

1872. Bramshott; Hordle; Mickleham; All Saints', Ryde; St. John's, Ockley.

1873. St. Clement's, Bournemouth; Holdenhurst; Millbrook; Morestead.

1874. All Saints', Alton; Ewhurst; Charterhouse Chapel, Godalming; St. Barnabas, Guernsey; Hedge End; Hythe; Cosham; St. Mark's, Portsea; Oakhanger; St. John's, Kennington; St. John's, Bournemouth.

1875. St. George's, Bournemouth; Greatham; Christ Church, Sandown; St. James's, Kennington; Otterbourne; North Holmwood; Church of the Ascension, Burghclere; Rotherwick; Tooting Graveney; Totland Bay; St. Matthew's, Surbiton; St. Saviour's, Brixton Hill; St. Philip's, Camberwell.

1876. Awbridge Danes; St. Michael's, Bournemouth; Burton; Christ Church, Epsom; Kingsley; All Saints', Freshwater; St. Nicholas, Guildford; St. Paul's, Gatten; Shotter Mill; St. Philip's, Cheam Common; St. Peter's, Battersea; All Saints', Kingsley; St. Ann's, South Lambeth; St. Swithin's, Bournemouth.

1877. Bradley; St. James's, Farnham; All Saints', Portsea; Crookham; Wroxall; St. Peter's, Woodmanstern.

1878. Trinity, Aldershot; Ashe; Crofton; Long

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Cross; Privett; St. Lawrence's, Ryde; Sark; Popham; Christ Church, Portswood.

1879. Holmbury; St. Mary's, Southampton; Cemetery Chapel, Southampton.

1880. St. Ambrose's, Bournemouth; Denmead; St. George's, Jersey; Longstock; Shedfield; Tedworth; St. John's, Sandown; St. Paul's, Bournemouth; St. Mark's, Farnborough.

1881. Sarisbury; Shirley; Winchester Training College Chapel.

1882. Hinton Admiral; St. Michael's, Portsea; St. Michael's, Winchester.

1883. St. Peter's, Southsea; Sparsholt; Jesus Chapel, Pear-tree Green.

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LIST OF THE BISHOPS OF WINCHESTER.

Bishops of Dorchester and Winchester.

Name.	Date of Succession.
†Birinus	634
Agilbert	650

Bishops of Winchester.

Name.	Date of Succession.
Wina	662
Eleutherius ...	670
†Hedda	676
Daniel	705
Humfrith	744
Kinehard	754
Athelard	754
Egbald	790
Dudda	794(?)
Kinebert	799(?)
Almund	803
Wighten	824(?)
Herefrith	825(?)
Edmund	833
Helmstan	833(?)
†‡Swithun	852
Alfrith	862
Dunbert	872
Denewulf	879
Frithstan	909
Brinstan	931
Alphege the Bald ...	934
Alfsige	951
Brithelm	958
†Athelwold	963
†Alphege II. ...	985
Kenulf	1005
Athelwold II. ...	1006
Alfsige II.... ...	1015
Alwin	1032
Stigand	1047
Walkelin	1070
‡William Gifford ...	1100
Henry de Blois ...	1129
Richard Toclive ...	1174
Godfrey de Lucy ...	1189
Peter Rock ...	1204
William Rayleigh ..	1243
Ethelmar	1250
John Gervase ...	1262
‡Nicholas Ely ...	1268
John Sawbridge or de Pontissera ...	1282
Henry Woodlock ..	1305
‡John Sandall ...	1316
Reginald Asser ...	1320
John Stratford ...	1323
‡Adam Orlton ...	1333
‡William Edyngdon	1345
‡William Wykeham	1367
‡Henry Beaufort ...	1404
‡William Waynflete	1447
Peter Courtenay ...	1487
Thomas Langton ...	1493
Richard Fox ...	1500
‡Thomas Wolsey ...	1528

Those marked † were canonised. ‡ signifies that the Bishop held the office of Lord Chancellor. Mr. F. J. Baigent has pointed out that this see has furnished more Chancellors than any other.

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Name.	Date of Succession.	Name.	Date of Succession.
‡Stephen Gardiner...	1531	George Morley ...	1662
John Poynet ...	1550	Peter Mews ...	1684
John White ...	1556	Sir J. Trelawny, Bart.	1707
Robert Horne ...	1560	Charles Trimnell ...	1721
John Watson ...	1580	Richard Willis ...	1723
Thomas Cooper ...	1584	Benjamin Hoadly...	1734
William Wickham II.	1595	John Thomas ...	1761
William Day ...	1596	Hon. Brownlow North	1781
Thomas Bilson ...	1596	Sir G. P. Tomline, Bart.	1820
James Montagu ...	1616	Charles Richard Sumner	1827
Lancelot Andrews	1618	Samuel Wilberforce	1869
Richard Neile ...	1627	Ed. Harold Browne	1873
Walter Curle ...	1632		
Brian Duppa ...	1660		

Priors of St. Swithun and Deans of Winchester.

No names remain of any members of the foundation prior to Bishop Athelwold's Reformation (see p. 34).

964–970. Brithnoth.
970–1006. Brithwold.
1006–1023. Ælfric, afterwards Archbishop of York.
— 1065. Wulfsig.
1070–1082. Simeon, brother of Bishop Walkelin, afterwards Abbot of Ely.[1]
1082–1107. Godfrey.[2]
1107–1111. Geoffry I., deposed by Bishop Giffard.
1111–1114. Geoffry II.
1114–1120. Eustace.
1120 — Hugh.
— 1126. Geoffry III.
1126–1130. Ingulf.
1130–1136. Robert, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells.

[1] He gave his brother great assistance in rebuilding Winchester Cathedral, and himself rebuilt Ely.

[2] There is a volume of poems by him among the MSS. of the British Museum.

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— 1171. Robert II., afterwards Abbot of Glastonbury.
1171–1175. Walter I., afterwards Abbot of Westminster.[1]
— 1187. John.
1187–1214. Robert III.
1214 — Roger.
— 1239. Walter II.
1239–1243. Audrey, intruded by Henry III. into the monastery for the purpose of forcing his wife's uncle into the bishopric. (See p. 107.)
1243–1247. Walter III., not regularly elected, was excommunicated by the bishop, and resigned.
1247–1249. John de Calceto, afterwards Abbot of Peterborough.
1249–1253. William of Taunton, the first mitred prior. Deposed by Bishop Ethelmar. A long contest ensued between him and his successor, the result of which is not known, beyond the fact that William was afterwards made Abbot of Middleton.
1253–1261. Andrew of London.
1261–1265. Radulf Russell.
1265–1276. Valentine. He was deprived and restored thrice over, then finally deprived.
1276–1278. John of Dureville.
1279 — Adam of Farnham.
— 1284. William of Basing I.
1284–1295. William of Basing II.[2]
1295–1305. Henry Woodlock; then became bishop.
1305–1309. Nicholas of Tarent.
1309 — Richard of Enford.
— 1349. Alexander Heriard.
1349–1361. John Marlowe.
1361–1384. Hugh of Basing.
1384–1394. Robert of Rudbourne.
1395 — Robert Neville.
— 1450. William Aulton.
1450–1457. Richard of Marlborough.
1457–1470. Robert Westgate.

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[1] Wrote lives of Bishops Giffard and de Blois.

[2] He is the only Prior of whom any monument remains in the Cathedral. It is coffin-shaped, with a floriated cross. Round the sides is an inscription with the name, and the intimation that whoever prays for his soul for three years shall receive indulgence for 145 days.

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1470–1498. Thomas Hunton. He was contemporary with Bishop Langton, the constructor of the Chantry on the south side of the Lady Chapel, the vault of which has these rebuses :—The musical note called a long inserted into a ton for Langton ; a vine and a ton for the See, a hen sitting on a ton for the Prior, and a dragon rising out of a ton, of which the meaning is lost.

1498–1524. Thomas Silkstede. He was a great improver of the Cathedral, especially of the east end. A chapel also bears his name in the south transept, but it does not show any signs of his work. The beautiful pulpit is his, as shown by his rebuses—sometimes the word *silk* with a steed ; sometimes a skein of silk.

1524 — Henry Brooke.

— 1539. William Kingsmill, the last Prior and the first Dean of Winchester. (See p. 163.)

1540–1548. William Kingsmill.

1549–1553. Sir John Mason. He was a layman.

1554–1559. Edmund Steward. Deprived. (See *ante*, p. 173.)

1559–1564. John Warner, M.D.

1565–1572. Francis Newton.

1572–1580. John Watson, M.D., then became Bishop.

1580–1588. Lawrence Humphrey.

1588–1599. Martin Heton, then became Bishop of Ely.

1599–1609. George Abbot, then made Bishop of Lichfield, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

1610–1616. Thomas Morton, afterwards Bishop of Chester.

1616 — John Young.[1]

1660–1665. Alexander Hyde, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.

1666–1679. William Clark.

1679–1692. Richard Meggott.

1693–1721. John Wickart.

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[1] Son of Sir P. Young. (See p. 253.) He was also Rector of Over Wallop, where in the early days of the Commonwealth a certain tinker was employed to help him as afternoon lecturer. His living was afterwards sequestered in favour of the tinker ; but the latter was turned out in 1662, "to his unspeakable grief," says the record.

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1721–1729. William Trimnell.
1729–1739. Charles Naylor.
1739–1748. Zachary Pearce, afterwards Bishop of Bangor.
1748–1760. Thomas Cheyney.
1760–1769. Jonathan Shipley, then made Bishop of Llandaff.
1769–1804. Newton Ogle.
1804–1805. Robert Holmes.
1805–1840. Thomas Rennell.
1840–1872. Thomas Garnier.
1872–1883. John Bramston.
1883 — George Kitchin.

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